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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE compiler regrets that his departure from Calcutta obliges him to bring out this work in so incomplete a form,—the part now printed comprising only portions of the first and fourth volumes. On his return to the Presidency, he hopes to bring out the remainder, as fast as his little leisure will permit.

Umbala, Dec. 1848.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
31	5—	for Kaj, read Gay.
74	25—31	} In all these places, for <i>Jahrbücher</i> read <i>Jahrbücher</i>
80	23	
82	20	
89	27	
92	32	
140	6—	insert "or" between Delimites and Bayides.
313	22—	for Kal, read Cul.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX
TO THE
HISTORIANS
OF
MUHAMMEDAN INDIA.

By H. M. ELLIOT, Esq.

Foreign Secretary to the Government of India.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

GENERAL HISTORIES.

And now stand forth, ye giant forms,—shades of the earliest chieftains,—ye long rows of famous men,—ye dynasties,—ye venerable councillors of kings and warriors on the car of victory,—stand forth, and let us survey you; and say—were ye the greatest of mankind? How few of you can claim that title! Or best of men? Still fewer of you have that praise. The originators or inspiring movers of great things done? Rather, the wheels whereon the Invisible Ruler has driven the wondrous machinery of His universal government across the ocean of time.

J. MÜLLER, *Lectures on Universal History*, III. 422.

CALCUTTA :

PRINTED BY J. THOMAS, BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.

1849.

From J. THORNTON, Esq.

Secretary to Government N. W. P.

To H. M. ELLIOT, Esq.

Secretary and Officiating Member,

Sudder Board of Revenue.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th ultimo, transmitting an “Index to the Native Historians of India,” and to express the great satisfaction with which the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor has received the above compilation.

2.—His Honor desires that the work may be immediately printed under your superintendence. The Government will print 200 copies for their own use ; but you can have as many more copies printed, on your own account, as may be required for circulation in India and England.

I have the honor, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. THORNTON,

Secy. to Govt. N. W. P.

Lieut.-Governor's Camp,

Feb. 11, 1847. }

P R E F A C E .

A few months since, the Compiler of this Catalogue was engaged in a correspondence with the Principal of the College at Delhi, on the subject of lithographing an uniform edition of the Native Historians of India. On referring the matter to His Honor the Lieutenant Governor N. W. P., it was replied that the Education Funds at the disposal of the Government were not sufficient to warrant the outlay of so large a sum as the scheme required, and without which it would have been impossible to complete so expensive an undertaking. At the same time it was intimated, that, as few people were acquainted with the particular works which should be selected to form such a series, it would be very desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the Manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our College Libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances ren-

der it expedient, and should the public taste, at present lamentably indifferent, show any inclination for greater familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammedan History of India.

The author willingly undertook this task, as it did not appear one of much difficulty ; but in endeavouring to accomplish it, the mere Nominal Index which he was invited to compile, has insensibly expanded into several Volumes ; for, encouraged not only by finding that no work had ever been written specially on this matter, but also by receiving from many distinguished Orientalists, both European and Native, their confessions of entire ignorance on the subject of his enquiries, he was persuaded that it would be useful to append, as far as his knowledge would permit, a few notes to each History as it came under consideration, illustrative of the matter it comprehends, the style, position, and prejudices of the several authors, and the merits or deficiencies of their execution.

Brief extracts from the several works have been given in the fourth Volume, in order to show the style of each author. Some of these have been translated in the three first Volumes ; of some, where the text is of no interest, the translation has been omitted ;

but in most instances, the English translations exceed the Persian text. As the translation and the printing of the Persian text occurred at different periods, the translation will be found occasionally to vary from the text, having been executed probably from a different Manuscript, and the preferable reading taken for the fourth Volume. The versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connexion, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted.

The author has been very particular in noticing every translation known to him, in order that students, into whose hands this Index may fall, may be saved the useless trouble, which he in his ignorance has more than once entailed upon himself—of undertaking a translation which had already been executed by others.

He had hoped to be able to add to this Index an account of the historians of the independent Muhammedan monarchies, such as of Gujrát, Bengál, Cashmír and others; but the work, as it is, has already extended to a length beyond what either its name or the

interest of the subject warrants, and sufficient information is given respecting their annals in many of the General Histories. For the same reason he must forego an intended notice of the various collections of private letters relating to the history of India, and the matters which chiefly interested the generation of the writers.

The historians of the Delhi Emperors have been noticed down to the reign of Sháh A'lam, when new actors appear upon the stage ; when a more stirring and eventful period of India's History commences ; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chroniclers of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial.

If it be doubted whether it is worth while to trouble ourselves about collecting such works as are here noticed, it is sufficient to reply that other countries have benefited by similar labours—exemplified in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, the *Auctores Veteres Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, the *Monumenta Boica*, the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, and a hundred other collections of the same

kind—but no objection is urged against them on the ground that each chronicler, taken individually, is not of any conspicuous merit. They are universally considered as useful depositories of knowledge, from which the labour and diligence of succeeding scholars may extract materials for the erection of a better and more solid structure. This country offers some peculiar facilities for such a collection, which it would be vain to look for elsewhere;—since the number of available persons, sufficiently educated for the purpose of transcribing, collating, and indexing, is very large, and they would be content with a small remuneration. Another urgent reason for undertaking such a work in this country, is the incessant depredation which insects, moths, dust, moisture, and vermin are committing upon the small store of Manuscripts which is now extant. Every day is of importance in rescuing the remnant from still further damage, as was too painfully evident a short time ago, from a report presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, respecting the injury which has already been sustained by their collection.

On the other hand, it must not be concealed, that in India, independent of the want of standard books of reference, great difficulties

beset the enquirer in this path of literature, arising chiefly from one of the defects in the national character, viz. : the intense desire for parade and ostentation, which induces authors to quote works they have never seen, and to lay claim to an erudition which the limited extent of their knowledge does not justify. For instance, not many years ago there was published at Agra an useful set of chronological tables of the Moghul dynasty, said to be founded on the authority of several excellent works named by the author. Having been long in search of many of these works, I requested from the author a more particular account of them. He replied, that some had been once in his possession and had been given away ; some he had borrowed ; and some were lost or mislaid ; but the parties to whom he had given, and from whom he had borrowed, denied all knowledge of the works, or even of their titles. Indeed, most of them contained nothing on the subject which they were intended to illustrate, and they were evidently mentioned by the author for the mere object of acquiring credit for the accuracy and extent of his researches.

Again, a native gentleman furnished a catalogue of the manuscripts said to compose the

historical collection of His Highness the Nizam; but on close examination I found that, from beginning to end, it was a complete fabrication, the names of the works being taken from the prefaces of standard histories, in which it is usual to quote the authorities,—the very identical sequence of names, and even the errors of the originals, being implicitly followed.

Against these impudent and interested frauds we must consequently be on our guard, not less than against the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance;—the misquoting of titles, dates, and names;—the ascription to wrong authors;—the absence of beginnings and endings;—the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript;—the mistakes of copyists;—the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections, and of fancy in their additions;—all these, added to the ordinary sources of error attributable to the well known difficulty of deciphering Oriental Manuscripts, present many obstacles sufficient to damp even the ardour of an enthusiast. Besides which, we have to lament the entire absence of literary history and biography, which in India is devoted only to Saints and Poets. Where

fairly tales and fictions are included under the general name of History, we cannot expect to learn much respecting the character, pursuits, motives, and actions of historians, unless they are pleased to reveal them to us themselves, and to entrust us with their familiar confidences ; or unless they happen to have enacted a conspicuous part in the scenes which they describe.* Even in Europe† this deficiency has been complained of ; how much more, therefore, is it likely to be a subject of regret, where despotism is triumphant ; where the active elements of life are few ; and where

* Neque enim sufficere, ut Codicum inscriptiones legantur, qui sæpe aut falsos aut truncatos titulos præferant, sæpe etiam plane desiderantur ; sed præfationes immo totos libros percurrendos esse, ut de singulorum argumento, formâ, ratione pronunties : de auctorum rebus in Historiæ literariæ libris inquirendum, aut si horum destituamur auxilio, ex ipsis operibus de scriptorum ætate conjecturam esse faciendam. Hunc igitur non aliquot mensium, nec unius anni laborem, sed talem, in quo rite perficiendo facile majorem ætatis partem consumas, eo usque seponendum esse decrevi, donec doctior omnibusque auxiliis paratior ad eum profligandum possem accedere.

H. A. HAMAKER, *Specimen Catalogi*, p. iv.

† I know not by what means it comes to pass, that historians, who give immortality to others, are so ill requited by posterity, that their actions and their fortunes are usually forgotten ; neither themselves encouraged while they live, nor their memory preserved entire to future ages. It is the ingratitude of mankind to their wisest benefactors, that they who teach us wisdom by the surest ways, should generally live poor and unregarded ; as if they were born only for the public, and had no interest in their own well-being, but were to be lighted up like tapers, and to waste themselves for the benefit of others.—*Dryden*.

individual character, trammelled by so many restraining influences, has no opportunity of development.

It must be understood, then, that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the Histories themselves. Indeed, it is almost a misnomer to style them Histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals. “Erat enim historia nihil aliud, nisi annalium confectio. * * * * Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui, sine ullis ornamentis, monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. * * * Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.” (*De Orat.* II. 12). They comprise, for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence; without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. If we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes

when we come to the accounts of the earlier Moghul Emperors, we have what is little more inviting in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious observances of the Court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.

If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that "History is Philosophy teaching by examples," then there is no Native Indian Historian; and few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store; though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator;—but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammedan historians, except Ibn Khaldún. By them Society is never contemplated either in its constituent elements or mutual relations; in its established classes or popular institutions; in its private recesses or habitual

intercourses. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any rank subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only Grandees and Ministers, "Thrones and Imperial Powers."

Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History,—for "its great object," says Dr. Arnold, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilized man, namely, the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political, and religious. This is the τελειότατον τέλος of historical enquiry." (*Lectures on Mod. Hist.* p. 123.) In Indian Histories there is little which enables us to penetrate below the glittering surface, and observe the practical operation of a despotic Government and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies.

If, however, we turn our eyes to the present Muhammedan kingdoms of India, and examine the character of the princes, and the condition of the people subject to their sway, we may fairly draw a parallel between ancient and modern times, under circumstances

and relations nearly similar. We behold Kings, even of our own creation, sunk in sloth and debauchery, and emulating the vices of a Caligula or a Commodus. Under such rulers, we cannot wonder that the fountains of justice are corrupted ; that the state-revenues are never collected without violence and outrage ; that villages are burnt, and their inhabitants mutilated or sold into slavery ; that the officials, so far from affording protection, are themselves the chief robbers and usurpers ; that parasites and eunuchs revel in the spoil of plundered provinces ; and that the poor find no redress against the oppressor's wrong and proud man's contumely. When we witness these scenes under our own eyes, where the supremacy of the British Government, the benefit of its example, and the dread of its interference might be expected to operate as a check upon the progress of misrule, can we be surprised that former princes, when free from such restraints, should have studied even less to preserve the people committed to their charge in wealth, peace, and prosperity ? Had the authors, whom we are compelled to consult, portrayed their Cæsars with the fidelity of Suetonius, instead of the more congenial syco-

phancy of Paterculus, we should not, as now, have to extort from unwilling witnesses testimony to the truth of these assertions. From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depth of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have—even among the short Extracts in this single Volume—of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammedans,¹ of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures,² of idols mutilated,³ of temples razed,⁴ of forcible conversions and marriages,⁵ of proscriptions and confiscations,⁶ of murders and massacres,⁷ and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them,⁸ show us that this picture is not overcharged;—and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no

1 See pp. 254, 291, 336.

2 See pp. 197, 235, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 257, 292.

3 See pp. 236, 286, 333, 344.

4 See pp. 228, 229, 292.

5 See pp. 196, 287, 335.

6 See pp. 289, 330, 332, 333.

7 See pp. 127, 158, 160, 286, 289, 333, 334, 335.

8 See pp. 112, 284, 285, 288, 290, 381, 390.

vices. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index a work is characterized as excellent, admirable, or valuable, it must be remembered that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindú is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears, and yearnings of his subject race; —but unfortunately he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except perhaps a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him. With him, a Hindú is “an infidel,” and a Muhammedan “one of the true faith,” and of the holy Saints of the Calendar he writes with all the fervor of a bigot. With him, when Hindús are killed, “their souls are despatched to hell,” and when a Muhammedan suffers the same fate, “he drinks the cup of martyrdom.” He

is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks "of the light of Islám shedding its refulgence on the world," "of the blessed Muharram," and "of the illustrious Book." He usually opens with a "Bismillah," and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammedans. One of the Hindú authors here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age "at the head of his bier and on the brink of his grave," though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer "*Tiberii ac Neronis res ob metum falsæ*,"* there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint and without adulation.

* Tacitus, *Annal.* I. 1.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and show that the history of the Muhammedan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammedan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendor of their achievements and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Baboos, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism and the degradation of their present position. If they

would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocions a very short time to learn, that, in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. From them too these idle vaporers would learn, that the sacred spark of patriotism is exotic here, and can never fall on a mine that will explode ; for history will show them, that certain peculiarities of physical as well as moral organization, neither to be strengthened by diet nor improved by education, have hitherto prevented their even attempting a national independence,—which will continue to exist to them but as a name, and as an offscouring of college declamations. We should be compelled to listen no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show, that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the “ exceeding magnificent” struc-

tures of his Moghul predecessors,* it will check his aspirations to learn, that, beyond palaces and porticos, temples and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, *if we omit only three names in the long line of Dehli Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and with the exception of a few saráis† and bridges—and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps,—he will see nothing in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail.‡* The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not

* This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor General, at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten; and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations is a tank under the palace walls of Dehli, which, as it remains empty one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

† The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subjects' welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant saráis were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private, liberality.

‡ See p. 242.

attempted to deny ; but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection, and with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility. His romantic sentiments may have been excited by the glowing imagery of Lalla Rookh, and he may have indulged himself with visions of Jehángír's broad highway from one distant Capital to the other, shaded throughout the whole length by stately avenues of trees, and accommodated at short distances with saráis and tanks ;—but the scale of that Emperor's munificence will probably be reduced in his eyes, when he sees it written, that the same work had already been in great measure accomplished by Sher Sháh, and that the same merit is also ascribed to a still earlier predecessor : nor will it be an unreasonable reflection, when he finds, except a ruined mile-stone here and there, no vestige extant of this magnificent highway, and this “delectable alley of trees,” that, after all, that can have been no very stupendous work, which the resources of three successive Emperors have failed to render a more lasting monument. When he reads of the canals of Fíroz Sháh and Alí Mardán Khán intersecting the country, he will find on further examination that, even if

the former was ever open, it was used only for the palace and hunting park of that monarch: but when he ascertains that no mention is made of it by any of the historians of Timúr, who are very minute in their topographical details, and that Báber exclaims in his Memoirs, that in *none* of the Hindústání Provinces are there any canals, (and both these conquerors must have passed over these canals, had they been flowing in their time,) he may perhaps be disposed to doubt if any thing was proceeded with beyond the mere excavation. With respect to Alí Mardán Khán, his merits will be less extolled, when it is learnt that his canals were made, not with any view to benefit the public, but for an ostentatious display of his profusion, in order that the hoards of his ill-gotten wealth might not be appropriated by the monarch to whom he betrayed his trust. When he reads that in some of the reigns of these kings, security of person and property was so great, that any traveller might go where he listed, and that a bag of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no one dare touch it,* he will learn to exercise a wise

* It is worth while to read the comment of the wayfaring European on this pet phrase. Bernier, describing his situation when he arrived

scepticism, on ascertaining that in one of the most vigorous reigns, in which internal tranquillity was more than ever secured, a caravan was obliged to remain six weeks at Muttra, before the parties who accompanied it thought themselves strong enough to proceed to Dehli; that the walls of Agra were too weak to save the city from frequent attacks of marauders; that Canauj was a favorite beat for tiger-shooting, and wild elephants plentiful at Karra and Calpí; that the depopulation of towns and cities, which many weak controversialists have ascribed to our measures of policy, had already commenced before we entered on possession; and that we found, to use the words of the Prophet, “the country desolate, the cities burnt, when the sons of strangers came to build up the walls, and their kings to minister.”

If we pay attention to more general considerations, and wish to compare the relative merits of European and Asiatic Monarchies, we shall find that a perusal of these books will convey many an useful lesson, calculated to foster in us a love and admiration of our country and its venerable institutions.

at the Court of Sháhjehán, speaks of “le peu d'argent qui me restoit de diverses rencontres de voleurs.”—*Hist. des Etats du Grand Mogol*, p. 5.

When we see the withering effects of the tyranny and capriciousness of a despot, we shall learn to estimate more fully the value of a balanced constitution. When we see the miseries which are entailed on present and future generations by disputed claims to the crown, we shall more than ever value the principle of a regulated succession, subject to no challenge or controversy. In no country have these miseries been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence been more frequent, and the claimants more numerous. From the death of Akber to the British conquest of Dehli—a period of two hundred years—there has been only one undisputed succession to the throne of the Moghul Empire, and even that exceptional instance arose from its not being worth a contest—at that calamitous time, when the memory of the ravages committed by Nádir Sháh was fresh in the minds of men, and the active hostility of the Abdálí seemed to threaten a new visitation. Even now, as experience has shown, we should not be without claimants to the pageant throne, were it not disposed of at the sovereign will and pleasure of the British Government, expressed before the question can give rise to dispute,

or encourage those hopes and expectations, which on each occasion sacrificed the lives of so many members of the Royal Family at the shrine of a vain and reckless ambition.

It is this want of a fixed rule of succession to the throne, which has contributed more than any thing else to maintain the kingdom in a constant ferment, and retard the progress of improvement. It was not that the reigning monarch's choice of his successor was not promulgated; but in a pure despotism, though the will of a living autocrat carries with it the force of law, the injunctions of a dead one avail little against the "lang claymore" or the "persuasive gloss" of a gallant or an intriguing competitor. The very law of primogeniture, which seems to carry with it the strongest sanctions, is only more calculated to excite and foment these disturbances, where regal descent is not avowedly based on that rule, and especially in a country where polygamy prevails; for the eldest prince is he who has been longest absent from the Court, whose sympathies have been earliest withdrawn from the influence of his own home, whose position in charge of an independent government inspires most alarm and mistrust in the reigning monarch, and whose

interests are the first to be sacrificed, to please some young and favorite queen, ambitious of seeing the crown on the head of her own child. In such a state of society, the princes themselves are naturally brought up, always as rivals, sometimes as adventurers and robbers ;—the chiefs espouse the cause of one or the other pretender, not for the maintenance of any principle or right, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection ; and probably end in themselves aspiring to be usurpers on their own account ;—the people, thoroughly indifferent to the success of either candidate, await with anxiety the issue, which shall enable them to pursue for a short time the path of industry and peace, till it shall again be interrupted by new contests ;—in short, all classes, interests, and institutions are more or less affected by the general want of stability, which is the necessary result of such unceasing turmoil and agitation.

These considerations, and many more which will offer themselves to any diligent and careful peruser of the volumes here noticed, will serve to dissipate the gorgeous illusions which are commonly entertained regarding the dynasties which have passed, and show him

that,—notwithstanding a civil policy and an ungenial climate, which forbid our making this country a permanent home, and deriving personal gratification or profit from its advancement,—notwithstanding the many defects necessarily inherent in a system of foreign administration, in which language, colour, religion, customs, and laws preclude all natural sympathy between sovereign and subject,—we have already, within the half century of our dominion, done more for the substantial benefit of the people, than our predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more than ten times that period ;* and, drawing auguries from the

* I speak only with reference to my own Presidency—the North Western Provinces. Bengal is said to be a quarter of a century behind it in every symptom of improvement, except mere English education. To the North Western Provinces, at least, cannot be applied the taunt, that we have done nothing, compared with the Muhammedan Emperors, with respect to roads, bridges, and canals. Even here, in the very seat of their supremacy, we have hundreds of good district roads where one never existed before ; besides the 400 miles of trunk-road, which is better than any mail-road of similar extent in Europe, and to which the Emperors never had anything in the remotest degree to be compared. The bridge at Jaunpúr is the only one that can enter into competition with our bridge over the Hindun, and would suffer greatly by the comparison ;—to say nothing of those over the Júa, the Khanaut, and the Kálí-nadí. In canals we have been fifty times more effective. Instead of wasting our supply of water on the frivolities of fountains, we have fertilized whole Provinces, which had been barren from time immemorial ;—and this even on the lines of which much was marked out by themselves ;—leaving out of consideration the magnificent works in progress

past, he will derive hope for the future, that, inspired by the success which has hitherto attended our endeavours, we shall follow them up by continuous efforts to fulfil our high destiny as the Rulers of India.

in the Doáb and Rohilkhand. The scientific survey alone of the North Western Provinces is sufficient to proclaim our superiority; in which every field throughout an area of 52,000 square miles is mapped, and every man's possession recorded. It altogether eclipses the boasted measurement of Akber, and is as magnificent a monument of civilization as any country in the world can produce. Finally, be it remembered that six centuries more have to elapse, before any thing like a comparison can be fairly instituted. It is to be hoped we shall not be idle during that long period.

Selected works for deposit in our College Libraries, exhibiting a series necessary for a full understanding of the history of Muhammedan India.

Tárikh-i-Ferishta.

Khulásatu-t-Tawárikh.

Chachnáma.

Tárikh-i-Sind.

Tarjuma Yemíní.

Tabakát-i-Násirí, (in part.)

Tárikh-i-Firozsháhí by Zia Barní.

Zafarnáma, (in part.)

Makhzan-i-Afghání.

Muntakhabu-l-Lubáb.

Tárikh-i-Chaghatái.

Autobiography of Báber.

Autobiography of Humaiyún.

Akbernáma.

Siwána-i-Akberí.

Parts of Tárikh-i-Badáúní, Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh, and Másir-i-Rahímí.

Jehángírnáma, all three volumes.

Autobiography of Jehángír.

Bádsháhnáma, with continuation.

Másir-i-Álamgírí, both books.

Parts of Hadíkatu-s-Safá.

Tárikh-i-Irádat Khán.

Tárikh-i-Nádiru-z-Zamání.

Ibratnáma.

Siyaru-l- Mutákharrín.

Parts of Tárikh-i-Muzaffarí and Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh.

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TO THE

HISTORIANS

OF

MUHAMMEDAN INDIA.

GENERAL HISTORIES.

I.

جامع التواريخ رشیدی

JAMIU-T-TAWÁRIKH RASHÍDÍ.

THE *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh Rashídí* was completed in A. H. 710—A. D. 1310—and although earlier works, such as the *Kámilu-t-Tawárikh* of Ibnu-l-Athír, and the *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* of Baizawí, will be brought under review when we come to the consideration of particular Dynasties, yet this is, in the order of date, the first General History which takes any notice of India, subsequent to the establishment of the throne of Dehli.

Fazlullah Rashíd, or Rashídu-d-Dín Ibn Imádu-d-Daulah *Abúl Khair Ibn Muwáfika-d-Daulah*, was born in A. H. 645—A. D. 1247—in the city of Hamadán. His practice of the medical art brought him into notice at the court of the Mongol Sultáns of Persia. He passed part of

his life in the service of Abáká Khán, the Tartar king of Persia, and one of the descendants of Halákú Khán. At a subsequent period, Gházán Khán, who was a friend to literature and the sciences, and who appreciated the merits of Rashídu-d-Dín at their proper value, appointed him to the post of Wazír in A. H. 697—A. D. 1297—in conjunction with Saadu-d-Dín. Rashídu-d-Dín was maintained in his office by Oljáítú, surnamed Khodábandah, the brother and successor of Gházán Khán, and was treated by him with great consideration and rewarded with the utmost liberality. The author himself admits that no sovereign ever lavished upon a subject such enormous sums as he had received from Oljáítú Khán.

Rashídu-d-Dín and his successive colleagues did not manage to conduct the administration with unanimity; but this seems to have arisen less from any infirmity of our author's temper, than from the envy and malice which actuated his enemies. In his first rupture with Saadu-d-Dín he was compelled in self-defence to denounce him, and to cause him to be put to death. Ali Sháh Jabalán, a person of low origin, who had managed by his talents and intrigues to raise himself into consideration, was appointed Saadu-d-Dín's successor at Rashídu-d-Dín's request, but with him he had shortly so serious a misunderstanding, that the Sultán was compelled to divide their jurisdiction, assigning the care of the Western provinces to Ali Sháh, and the Eastern to Rashídu-d-Dín.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, the two Wazírs continued at enmity, and shortly after the death of Oljáítú, who was succeeded by his son Abú Saíd, Alí Sháh so far succeeded in prejudicing the Sultán against the old Minister, that he was, after many years' faithful service, removed from the Wazárat in A. H. 717 - A. D. 1317. A short time afterwards he was recalled, in order to remedy the mal-administration which was occasioned by his absence, but it was not long before he again lost favor at court, and was accused of causing the death of his patron Oljáítú Khán. It was charged against him that he had recommended a purgative medicine to be administered to the deceased chief, in opposition to the advice of another physician, and that under its effects the King had expired. Rashídu-d-Dín was condemned to death, and his family were, after the usual Asiatic fashion, involved in his destruction. His son Ibráhím, the chief butler, who was only sixteen years old, and by whose hands the potion was said to have been given to the chief, was put to death before the eyes of his parent, who was immediately afterwards cloven in twain by the executioner. Rashídu-d-Dín was 73 years* old when he died, and his death occurred in A. H. 718—A. D. 1318. His head was borne through the streets of Tabríz, and proclaimed by the public crier as the head of a Jew, his children and relatives

* This is the age assigned by M. Quatremère (*Coll: Orientale*, Tom. I. p. xlv.) but these must have been lunar years, if he was born in A. D. 1247.—Hammer-Purgstall says, Rashid-ud-Dín was 80 years old when he died. (*Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol. II. p. 260.)

had their property confiscated, and the Raba Rashídí, a suburb which he had built at an enormous expense, was given up to pillage.

The body of the murdered Wazír was buried near the mosque which he had constructed in Tabríz, but it was not destined to repose quietly in its last asylum. Nearly a century after his death, the government of Tabríz, together with that of the whole province of Āzarbáiján, was given by Timúr Lang to his son Mirán Sháh. This young Prince, naturally of a mild disposition, had become partially deranged, in consequence of an injury of the head occasioned by a fall from his horse, and one day, during a temporary access of madness, he caused the bones of Rashídu-d-Dín to be exhumed, and they were finally deposited in the cemetery of the Jews,—a renewal of the insult offered by his enemies at the time of his death, in order to render his name odious amongst Musalmáns. His eldest son, Ghaiásu-d-Dín, was subsequently raised to the same dignities as his father, and met with an equally tragical death.

Almost all those who had conspired to ruin Rashídu-d-Dín, perished in the course of the following year. Alí Sháh, the one most deserving of punishment, alone survived to enjoy the fruits of his crime. He continued by his address to maintain his high honors and the favor of his master, for the space of six years, when he died ; being the only Wazír, since the establishment of the Mongol monarchy, who had not met with a violent death.

Rashíd-ud-Dín was endowed with a wonderful degree of ability and industry. Few men, even of those who have devoted their lives to research, could hope to attain the knowledge acquired by him, and when we recollect, that from his youth upwards he was involved in the intrigues and tumults of the court, and that he bore the principal weight of the administration of an immense empire under three successive Sultáns, we cannot but feel the highest respect for his talents. Besides Medicine, together with those sciences which are immediately connected with it, he had cultivated with success, Agriculture, Architecture, and Metaphysics, and had rendered himself conversant with the most abstruse points of Musalmán controversy and doctrine. He was also an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with the Persian, Arabic, Mongolian, Turkish, and Hebrew languages, and, as it seems from his works, with the Chinese also. Amongst his great natural powers, we may reckon as the most important, the talent of writing with extreme facility; this is attested by the voluminousness of his works, and by a passage in one of his writings, in which he asserts that he composed three of his greatest works, viz. :—the Kitábu-t-Tawzihát, the Miftáhu-t-Tafásír, and the Risálatu-s-Sultániat, in the short space of eleven months, and this not by giving up his whole time to his literary labours, but in the midst of the cares of government, and without reckoning numerous other treatises on various intricate subjects,

which were written by him during the same period, such as a book on Rural Economy, and works on Theology, Medicine, and Musalmán Theology.

It was not till somewhat late in life that Rashídu-d-Dín turned his thoughts to authorship, and until his master, Gházán Khán, ordered him to compose a history of the Mongols, he had not ventured to commit the results of his learning and meditations to the judgment of the world. This history occupies the first volume of the *Jámin-t-Tawárikh*, and has received the highest commendation from European scholars.

The work was on the point of completion, when Gházán Khán died, A. H. 703 - A. D. 1303. Oljáitú Khán, his successor, not only approved of the plan which our author had followed, and the manner in which he had executed his task, but enjoined him to complete it, and to add thereto a general account of all the people known to the Mongols, and a description of all the countries of the globe. Rashídu-d-Dín undertook this laborious work, and a few years sufficed for its accomplishment, for we find that in A. H. 710 - A. D. 1310 - the entire history was written, bound, and deposited in the mosque constructed by the author at Tabríz. It is true that the author of the *Tárikh-i Wassáf* affirms, that Rashídu-d-Dín continued his work till A. H. 712, but this, probably, only applies to that portion of it which gives the history of Oljáitú. Haidar Rázi, in his General History says, that the por-

tion relating to India was completed in A. H. 703, the period when our author received orders to commence his researches.

The entire work when completed, received from its author the title of *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh*, and the first volume, which may be considered as a history by itself, continued to be called the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, after the Prince by whose orders it was composed and to whom it was dedicated. A portion of the *Tárikh-i Gházání* has been admirably translated by M. Quatremère in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale*, and we are indebted to him for a full account of our Author's Biography and his literary merits. Mr. William Morley has not only undertaken to bring out an edition of the original work relating to the History of India, but to translate the whole of the lately discovered manuscript in the Library of the East India Company. I am not aware that any part of this task is yet performed. M. Erdmann has also promised an edition of the original.—(*Journal Asiatique*, 2nd Series, Tom. I. p. 322.)

In inquiries after this work care must be taken not to confound *Jámiu-r-Rashídí* with the *Tárikh-i Rashídí*, which is common in Hindústán, and derives its name of *Rashídí* chiefly (though other reasons are assigned) from being dedicated to the reigning Khán of Moghuls, Abdu-r-Rashíd Khán, by its author, Mirza Haidar Dúghlát Gúrgán. It contains nothing respecting the History of India. There is also a Turkish work of the name of *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh*,

of which there is an account in Von Hammer's *Geschichte der Osmanischen Reiches* (Vol. ix. p. 180,) and which the same author quotes as one of his authorities in his *Geschichte der Assassinen*.—It was composed A. D. 1574, and is said to be compiled chiefly from the Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh of Baizawí, and the Bohjatu-t-Tawáríkh of Shukrulla. There is also an Arabic History which, from similarity of name, may be mistaken for it, the Mukhtasir Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, by Ibn al Wárdí, a valuable General History from 1097 to 1543 A. D.

The following account of the contents of the entire Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, is taken from a notice in Arabic, by Rashídu-d-Dín himself, prefixed to a MS. of his theological works, in the Royal Library at Paris.

“The book called the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, comprises four volumes, the first of which contains a preface, an account of the origin of the nations of the Turks, the number of their tribes, and an account of the Kings, Kháns, Amírs, and great men who have sprung from each tribe; also of the ancestors of Changéz Khán, the history of that monarch's actions, and of his children and descendants, who have occupied the throne down to the time of Oljáitú Sultán. To the life of each prince is added his genealogy, an account of his character, and of his wives and children, a notice of the Khalífahs, Kings, Sultáns, and Atábeks, who were contemporary with him, and a history of the remarkable events that occurred during his reign.

“The second volume contains an introduction and a history of the life of Oljáitú from the time of his birth to the present day; to this portion of the second volume will be added a supplement, comprising an account of the daily actions of this prince, written by me, and afterwards continued by the court historians. This second volume also contains a concise history of the Prophets, Sultáns, and Kings of the universe, from the days of Adam to the present time, together with a detailed account of many people, of whom historians have, till now, given little or no description. All that I have said respecting them, I have taken from their own books, and from the mouths of the learned men of each

nation ; it also gives the history of the people of the book, viz. the Jews and the Christians, and the histories of the Sultans and most celebrated Princes of each country ; also an account of the Ismailis, and many curious and instructive particulars.

“The third volume gives, after the preface, a detailed account of the descent of the Prophets, Kings, Khalifahs, the Arab tribes, the companions of the Prophet, Muhammed, &c., from the time of Adam to the end of the dynasty of the Baní Abbás ; the genealogy of the ancestors of Muhammed, and of the tribes descended from them ; the series of Prophets who have appeared amongst the Baní Isráíl, the Kings of the latter, and an enumeration of their different tribes ; the genealogies of the Kaisars and others of the Christian princes, with their names and the number of years of their respective reigns. All these details have been faithfully extracted from the chronicles of these people, and arranged in a systematic order.

“The fourth volume comprises a preface and a circumstantial account of the limits of each of the seven climates, the division and extent of the vast countries of the globe, the geographical position and description of the greater part of the cities, seas, lakes, valleys, and mountains, with their longitudes, and latitudes. In writing this portion of our work, we have not been satisfied merely with extracts from the most esteemed geographical works, but we have, besides, made inquiries from the most learned men and those who have themselves visited the countries described ; we have inserted in our relation, particulars obtained from the learned men of Hind, Chin, Máchin, the countries of the Franks, &c., and others which have been faithfully extracted from works written in the languages of those different countries.”

This is the account given by our author himself of his work ; it must, however, be remarked, that in the preface to the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, and in many other passages, he speaks of three volumes only, writing under the head of the second, the matters which here form the contents of the second and third. The easiest way of accounting for this contradiction is to suppose that he subsequently divided this second volume into two portions, on account of its great bulk and disproportion in size to the others.

In the preface to the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, the work is divided, as mentioned above, into three

volumes, according to the following distribution :—

The contents of the first volume are the same as given in the preceding description, and it is dedicated to Gházán Khán. It comprises two books and several sections.

The second volume contains the history of Oljáitú Sultán, (to whom it was dedicated,) from his birth to the time when our author wrote; this forms the first division of the volume. The second division comprises two parts, the first of which is again sub-divided into two sections. The first section contains an abridged history of all the Prophets, Khalifahs, and of the different races of men, to the year of the Flight, 700. The second section comprises a detailed chronicle of all the inhabitants of the earth, according to their races, extracted from their various writings, and from the mouths of natives of the different countries. The second part is filled with the remaining portion of the history of Oljáitú, "the Sultán of Islamism," as he is styled, and was destined to be continued in chronological order to the time of his death. "The historians who are, or may be, servants of the court, will take care to write this, and add it as a supplement to this second volume."

The third volume comprises the description of the geographical charts, and the various routes from one place to another, taken from the sources already mentioned. "The author has, as far as was in his power, multiplied and verified his researches from all that was previously known on the subject in this country, whether described in books or drawn in charts. To this he has added all that during this fortunate epoch the philosophers and wise men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, Farang, and other countries have written, and has entered it all in this third volume, after having fully ascertained its authenticity."

The extended notice which is here given to Rashídu-d-Dín and the Jámiu-t-Tawárikh, is not only due to his merits as an historian, and to the curious sources of his information on Indian subjects, but to the interest which has been excited within the last ten years by the discovery, under very peculiar circumstances, of the largest portion of the work, which was supposed to have been lost.

A full account of this extraordinary discovery is given in the sixth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the following extract from the letter of Professor Forbes, comprises some of the most interesting particulars of the circumstances with which it was attended.

Mr W. Morley has kindly presented to me a copy of his interesting letter addressed to Major General Briggs, respecting the portion of the *Jāmiu-t-Tawārikh*, now in the Society's Library. About the time when Mr. Morley's communication was passing through the press, I accidentally fell in with a much larger portion of the *Jāmiu-t-Tawārikh*, comprising one half the original volume, of which the Society's fragment forms about one-fifth. The two fragments have been clearly proved (as you will perceive hereafter) to be parts of the same grand original; and it is curious enough that after many years, perhaps centuries, of separation, they should have at last met in a portion of the earth so remote from their native city.

That portion of the *Jāmiu-t-Tawārikh* which forms the subject of the present hasty and imperfect communication, belonged to the late Colonel John Baillie, a distinguished member of the Asiatic Society. Shortly after the death of that eminent Orientalist, his house in town was let, and his books and manuscripts were temporarily removed to the house of a friend in Soho Square, previous to their being conveyed to the family estate in Inverness-shire. They have remained however undisturbed in Soho Square ever since. A few weeks ago I happened to have a pupil who lived in the same house, and from his description of some of the MSS I felt and expressed my wishes to see them, in which request I was most readily indulged.

The first, indeed I may say the only, work that caught my attention was a large Arabic manuscript of an historical nature, written in a beautiful and very old Naskhi hand, with many pictures very creditably executed, all things considered. On the back of this rare volume is written in a distinct Persian hand, "*Tārikh-i-Tabarī*," and as if this were not sufficient, there is a note written in Persian, on a blank page, folio 154, of which the following is a literal translation. "The name of this book is *The Tārikh-i-Tabarī*, (the History or Chronicle of Tabarī,) the author's autograph. The whole number of leaves when complete, amounted to 303; now however, some one has stolen and carried off one half of it, or about 150 leaves. It was written by the author's own hand, in the year of the Hegira 706 (A. D. 1306-7)."

The information intended to be conveyed in this note, is, unfortunately, rendered very suspicious, by the date given in the conclusion; as Tabarî had flourished some 450 lunar years earlier. On examining the work itself, I found that the Muhammedan history came down to the last of the Khalîfas of Bagdad; hence it could not be the original Tabarî. As D'Herbelot, however, has mentioned two writers who have continued the history of Tabarî down to their own times, I thought this might possibly be one of them, and in order to verify the circumstance, I took the Persian version with me next day to compare them; but after making the most liberal allowance for the freedom generally used by Oriental translators, I found that the two could never have been intended for the same work.

Resolved, if possible, to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion respecting the MS., I requested a very intelligent native of India to accompany me to see it. The moment this gentleman looked at it, he told me that whether it was Tabarî or not, he had seen the identical book some months back in a house where he visited. On further enquiry, I learned that the book to which he alluded, belonged to the Asiatic Society. Next day I examined the Society's MS. and found, as I had concluded, that it forms part of the *half* that is missing in Colonel Baillie's MS. In proof of this, I may mention that the ink and the handwriting are the same in both. The length and breadth and number of lines in each page are the same, and the paintings are in the same style in both. The work had been numbered originally by leaves or folios, as is usual in Oriental MS.; these numbers still remain on the second page of each leaf, and every leaf of the Society's fragment is missing in Colonel Baillie's work. There is no question then, that as Sâdî hath it, "they are limbs of one another," for assuredly they originally consisted of but one work.

A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a request was made that the Society would interest itself in searching for manuscripts of the work. A Circular was in consequence issued to many of the native chiefs and literati of India, but no satisfactory reply was received. Upon that occasion I pointed out to the Society that the work was probably in their own Library, for that an anonymous volume, purporting to contain precisely the same matter, was brought by Sir J. Malcolm

from Persia, and presented to the College of Fort William, as appeared from a notice at the end of Stewart's Catalogue of Tipú Sultan's Library. The work was searched for and discovered, in consequence of this information, among those which were transferred from the College of the Asiatic Society. (See *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. X. p. 934.)

It was not till some years afterwards that I had the satisfaction of reading the superb French publication, entitled *Collection Orientale*, in the preface to the first Volume of which I found that the very same enquiry had been suggested by M. Quatremère, in the following passage: "au nombre des MSS. apportés de Perse par le Major Malcolm et offerts par lui au Collège du Fort William, je trouve un ouvrage ayant pour titre Djami-altawarikh-kadim. Ce livre ferait-il partie du travail de Rashideldin? C'est ce que je n'ai pu vérifier." (*Vie et les ouvrages de Rashideldin*, seconde Partie, p. lxxxv.) Had this enquiry then attracted the attention of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it would have resulted in an earlier discovery of the missing volume; but when at last it was drawn forth from their Library, it had become of comparatively little importance, for, in the meantime, a manuscript of the Persian original had been found in the Library of the East India House, of which a full description was shortly after given in the seventh volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, from which the following extract is taken.

The MS. in question is of a large folio size, and contains in all 1189 pages; but as numerous spaces have been left for the insertion of paintings, the actual volume of the work is not equal to its apparent extent; the character is a small and tolerably clear Nastalik; the transcriber was evidently both careless and ignorant, and the text abounds with errors—this is particularly conspicuous in the spelling of the names of places and individuals, the same name being frequently written in two or three different ways in the same page; many considerable omissions also occur in the body of the work, the original from which our MS. was transcribed being, in all probability, damaged or defective in those parts.

The Jámíu-l-Tawárikh consists of a collection of histories, (as its name imports,) each distinct from the others and complete in itself. Those contained in our MS. occur in the following order.

I. A general history of Persia and Arabia, from the earliest times to the fall of the Khiláfat: this history comprises a preface and two sections. The preface contains an account of Adam and his children, of Núh and his posterity, of the reign of Kaiomars, the first of the kings of Fars, and of the tribes of the Arabs, to the time of the prophet Muhammed. This preface mentions that the history was composed in the year of the Flight 700, from various traditional and written authorities.

Section 1 contains a history of the kings of Fars, and of the events that occurred in their respective reigns; also accounts of the prophets from the time of Kaiomars until that of Yazdajird, the last of the kings of Ajam.

Section 2 contains a copious and detailed history of the prophet Muhammed and his Khalifahs to the time of Al Mustasim Billah. This history, which in our MS. comprises 361 pages, was transcribed in the month of Shawwál, in the year of the Flight 1081. It is contained entire in the MS. of Colonel Baillie, with the absence of forty-six leaves, seven of which are, however, to be found in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

II. A concise history of the Sultán Mahmúd Sobaktagín, the Ghaznavides, the Samánides, the Búyides, and some others, to the time of Abú'l-Fath Módúd Ben Masaúd, and the year of his death, viz., the 547th of the Flight. This history comprises fifty-six pages, and was transcribed in the month Zí'l Híjjah, and the 1081st year of the Flight. This is also in Colonel Baillie's MS., of which it forms the third portion.

III. A history of the Saljúkí kings and of the Atábeks, to the time of Toghrul Ben Muhammed Ben Molik Sháh, the last of the Saljúks, who was slain in the year of the Flight 589. It comprises forty-two pages.

To this history is added a supplement, composed by Abú Hauid Ibn Ibráhím, in the year of the Flight 599; it contains

an account of the fall of the Saljúks, and the history of the kings of Khárizm, to the time of Jalála-l-Dín, the last of that dynasty. This supplement comprises twenty-five pages, and apparently formed part of the original Jámiu-l-Tawárikh, as Professor Forbes mentions two leaves existing at the end of Colonel Baillie's MS., which are occupied with the history of Khárizm.

IV. A history of Oghúz, and of the other Sultáns and Kings of the Turks; it comprises twenty-two pages. At the end, it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Kháns of Chín and Máchin.

V. A history of Khitá, and of the Kings of Chín and Máchin, to the time of the conquest by the Mongols. It comprises forty-six pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be succeeded by that of the Baní Isráíl. The concluding part of this account of Khitá is contained in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VI. A history of the children of Israel, comprising forty-eight pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Franks, and the date of transcription is said to be the month Safár, in the year of the Flight 1082. The first portion of this history occurs in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VII. A history of the Franks, from the creation of Adam to the time when the author wrote, viz, 705th year of the Flight, giving a short account of the various Emperors and Popes, amounting to little more than a list of mis-spelt names. It comprises 122 pages, and bears the date of Rabiú-l-Awwál, in the year of the Flight 1082.

VIII. A history of the Sultáns of Hind and of the Hindús. It comprises fifty-eight pages. This history exists in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, supplying the lacuna in that MS., where about six pages are wanting.

IX. A treatise on metempsychosis, extracted from the Tanzí-háti Rashídí by Rashidu-l-Dín. This treatise comprises twelve pages. The date of transcription is Rabiú-l-Awwál, in the 1082 year of the Flight; the name of the scribe is also here given, viz., Táhir Ibn Al Báki Aláyí.

X. The general preface and contents of the whole volume, headed, "This is the book of the collection of histories."

This preface comprises eight pages. It has been published, with a translation by M. Quatremère, in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale*.

XI. The first volume of the Jámiu-l-Tawárikh, entitled, the *Tárikhi Gházání*, and containing an account of the Turks and Mongols to the time of Oljaitú Khodábandah, who reigned when the author completed his work. This history comprises 386 pages, and was transcribed in the month Shabán, and the year of the Flight 1082.

By comparing this Table of Contents with the one above given by Rashídu-d-Dín himself, it will be seen that the India-House Manuscript does not contain the entire work ; the parts deficient being, the first division of the second volume, containing the life of Oljáitú Sultán, with the supplementary journal, and the whole of the third volume, containing the Geography.

It is, however, very probable that the last volume was never written, for we nowhere find any mention amongst Eastern authors of Rashídu-d-Dín as a writer on Geography ; and what gives greater colour to this probability is, that he intersperses some of his narratives with geographical details, which in many instances might be considered to supersede the necessity of any further notice in a separate volume. This may be observed in the case of the Geography of India, which will shortly have to be noticed. He exhausts in that brief account all that was then known to the Western Asiatics of the Geography of India, and he could therefore merely have repeated in the third, what he had already given in the second volume.

It does not appear that these successive discoveries of the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh* in English collections have been followed by others on the Continent of Europe. None have been announced from Paris, or Leyden, and two passages in the Preface to the *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, (p. xv. and xxi.) show that, up to 1840, no copy had been discovered in Germany.

Mr. Morley perhaps attached a little too much importance to the discovery, for he entertained the same opinion as M. Quatremère, that the second portion of the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh* was altogether lost. To him is certainly due the credit of having rescued it from oblivion, but the work is by no means so much unknown as they had been led to suppose. Not only do Mirkhond and the author of the *Kínyá-i-Saádat*, notice it, as observed by Professor Forbes, but Sádik Isfaháni quotes it under the article "*Máchín*" in his *Tahkíku-l-Iráb*, Muslihu-d-din-al-Lárá quotes it in his *Mirátu-l-Adwár*, Hamdulla Mustaufi in his *Tárikh-i Guzída*, Ahmed-al-Ghaffári in his *Nigáristán*, and Haidar Rázi confesses to have extracted from it no less than 40,000 lines, if *bait* may be so translated, when referring to an historical work in prose.

It seems to have been doubted whether the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh* was originally written in Arabic or Persian. Most authors who have mentioned the work consider it to have been written in Persian, and translated under the author's direction into Arabic; but it is certain that no Persian copies were very generally available in Akbar's time, for Abdu-l-Kádir Badáúní states, under the transactions of A. H. 1000, that he was directed by the Emperor to translate the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh* from Arabic into Persian. It does not exactly appear from the text whether this was an abridgment or a translation, but the portion which was completed

by Abdu-l-Kádir is distinctly said to have been translated from the Arabic. It is curious that the translation of a part of the modern history, executed under the orders of Colonel Franklin, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society, should also bear the name of Abdu-l-Kádir, who thus appears to have executed a second time what his namesake had done before him more than two hundred and fifty years ago.

In the library of the British Museum there is a very valuable copy of the Persian original, (No. 7628, Addit.) written by different transcribers, as early as A. D. 1314, four years before the author's death. This copy was noticed by Dr. Bernhard Dorn in the preface to his "History of the Afgháns," before the appearance of the articles above mentioned. It is supposed to have belonged to Oljáitú Khán, and to have come subsequently into the possession of Sháh Rukh, the son of 'Timúr. It would indeed have been surprising had the work been so little known as is supposed, for we are informed in the *Tárikh-i Wassáf* and *Rauzatu-s-Safá*, that the author expended no less than 60,000 *dínárs* in the transcription and binding of his own writings. Every precaution was taken by him to secure his labours from destruction, and considerable revenues were set aside for the purpose of copying and disseminating them, both in Arabic and Persian, throughout the most considerable cities of the Muhammedan world.

I know of no copy in India except the Asiatic Society's volume, which will shortly receive more

particular notice; but an exceedingly valuable portion of the work, comprising the account of India, exists in the Royal Library at Lakhnau, under the wrong title of *Tárikh-i Sabuktigín*. It includes portions of three different Books, for it begins with the history of Mahmúd Sabuktigín and the dynasty of the Ghaznavides, and contains the history of the Kings of Khwárazm, the Saljúkians, the Búyides, and part of the history of Khalifs. It is embellished with paintings which are beyond the average degree of Asiatic merit, and the text is written in a clear *naskh* character, comprising one hundred and five folios, with thirty-five lines to a page. It would be useful for the purpose of collation, although in many parts it is written very incorrectly, especially in the names of places, where accuracy is particularly desirable. I know of two copies of the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, but they contain no portion which has not already been made familiar to the public by the French edition of M. Quatremère noticed above.*

I will now proceed to describe the volume in the Asiatic Society's Library,—premising that it was copied A. H. 1098, and is written in a clear *nastalík* character.

* Compare *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. V. pp. 265—272. *Journal des Savans*, 1838. pp. 501—514. Klaproth, *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 293. Von Hammer, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, pp. 12, 242. Dr. Bernhard Dorn, *Hist. of the Afghans*, p. xv. Wilken, *Hist. Ghaznevidarum*, p. xii. *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Vol. IX. p. 1131; Vol. X. p. 934. Sádik Isfahání, p. 45. *Journal Asiatique*, 2nd Series, Tom. I. p. 322; 3rd Series, No. 36, pp. 571—589. *Collection Orientale*, Vol. I. pp. 1—175. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.* Vol. VI. pp. 11—41; Vol. VII. pp. 267—272. *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol. II. pp. 150, 219, 243, 259—262. M. Abel Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. I. 138—441.

I. A history of the Saljúki kings, to the last of the dynasty, Abú Tálib Tughril, son of Arslán. This extends to p. 44, where a continuation by Abú Hámid Muhammed, son of Ibráhím, commences, comprising also the history of the Sultáns of Khwárazm, extending from pp. 44 to 64.

II. A history of Oghúz and the Turks. From pp. 65 to 77. The epigraph states that it is followed by a history of China.

III. A history of the kháns and kings of Chín and Máchín, and of the capital called Khitá. The portraits in this book almost all represent the kings with two tails below their caps. At the end it is stated that this chapter is followed by an account of the Baní Isráíl. This history extends from pp. 78 to 114.

IV. A history of the children of Isráíl, said to be succeeded by a history of the Franks and Cæsars. From pp. 115 to 156.

V. This book is divided into two chapters and several sections.

Chapter 1st. Adam and his descendants.—Núh and his descendants.—Ibráhím and his descendants, to the Virgin Mary.—Moses.—The kings of Persia.—The Greeks.—The Arabs.—Muhammed.—The Moghuls.—The Khalifas to the close of the Abáside dynasty.

Chapter 2nd. On the belief of Christians.—The country of Armenia.—The country, seas and islands of the Franks.—The birth of the Messiah.—The Emperors of Rúm.—The Popes and Cæsars, with fancy portraits intended to represent each of these two last.

The proper sequence is interrupted by some mistake of the binder, but the whole of this unconnected book extends from pp. 157 to 467.

VI. A history of Sultán Mahmúd Sabuktigín.—The Ghaznavides.—Sámánides, and the Búyides. The subdivisions of this book are as follows :—

Respecting the victory of Bust.—The victory of Kasdár.—Account of Sístán.—Regarding Kábús and Fakhru-d-Daulah.—Concerning the restoration of Fakhru-d-Daulah to his government, and his friendship with Hisámu-d-Daulah Tash.—Respecting Abú-l Hasan, son of Simhúr, and his administration in Khorásán, to the time of his death, and the succession of his son Ubú Ali.—Regarding Fáik and his condition after his defeat at Marv.—Retirement of Núh, son of Manstr, from Bokhárá, and the arrival of Bughrá Khán at Bokhárá.—Regarding Abú-l Kásim, son of Simhúr and brother of Abú Ali, and his condition after his separation from his brother.—The Amíru-l Múminín Alkádír Billah confers a robe of honour on Sultán Yemínu-d-Daulah.—The return of Abdu-l Malik.—Abú Ibráhím Ismaíl and the occurrences between him, Eibak Khán and Amír Nasr, son of Násiru-d-Din.—Regarding the Sámání Amírs, and the occurrences of their reigns.—Relating to the friendship and enmity between

Násiru-d-Din, Sabuktigin and Khalaf, son of Ahmad, and the assumption of the reins of government by the Sultán.—Respecting Shamsu-l-Maálí Kábús, and his return to his country.—The friendship and subsequent enmity between the Sultán and Eibak Khán.—Relating to the sacred war of Bhátiah.—Respecting the capture of the fort of Bhím.—Regarding the family of the khalif Alkádír Billáh, and his government.—His attachment to the Sultán and Baháu-d-Daulah, son of Uzdu-d-Daulah.—An account of Baháu-d-Daulah.—Respecting the affair at Nárain.—Relating to the sacred war of Ghor.—Regarding the traitors after their return from Máwaráu-n-Nahr.—Relating to the retirement of Bughrá Khán from Bokhára, and the return of Núh, son of Mansúr, to his home.—Respecting the Afgháns.—Amír Nasr, son of Násiru-d-Din Sabuktigin.—The reign of Muhammed, son of Mahmúd.—The reign of Abú-l Fateh Maudúd, son of Masaúd, son of Mahmúd. From pp. 468 to 523.

VII. On Hind and Sind and Shákmúní, divided into the following chapters and sections :—

Chapter 1st. On eras and revolutions.—The measurement of the earth.—On the four júgas.—The hills and waters of Hind.—On its countries, cities and towns.—On the islands.—The Sultáns of Dehli.—The birth of Bádeo, and the kings of India preceding Mahmúd.—On Cashmír, its hills, waters and cities.—An account of the kings of the Tritá júg.—The kings of the Dwápar júg.—The kings of the Kal júg.

Chapter 2nd. An account of the prophets of the Hindús, of whom there are six of the highest class, Shákmúní being the sixth.—On the birth of Shákmúní.—On the properties and signs of a perfect man.—On the character, conduct, and sayings of Shákmúní.—On the austerities of Shákmúní, and his incorporation with the divine essence.—Further proceedings of Shákmúní.—On his appearance in various forms.—On the knowledge of certain prayers addressed to God.—On the different degrees of metempsychosis, and the number of hells.—How a man can become a god.—How a man can escape from the form of a beast.—How a man can escape from the form of another man.—On the difference between men and angels.—On the questions put to Shákmúní by the angels.—On the information given by Shákmúní respecting another prophet.—On the rewards of paradise and the punishments of hell, and the injunctions and prohibitions of Shákmúní.—On the establishment of his religion in Hind and Cashmír.—On the death of Shákmúní, and the events which followed. From pp. 524 to 572.

VIII. An essay in refutation of the doctrine of transmigration, extracted from the Tauzihát-i-Rashídí. From pp. 572 to 581.

Size—Large Folio, containing 581 pages, of 30 lines to a page.

It appears, therefore, that this volume comprises the same matter as the East India House MS., with the exception of the Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī, of which that MS. contains the first portion. The arrangement, however, of the several books is very different, as will be evident to any one who feels disposed to compare them.

The following extract is taken from the continuation of the History of the Saljūkian sovereigns, and recounts one of the most interesting events in Indian History. Other historians have narrated the same circumstances without much variation, except in the minor details. (Compare Mirkhond, *Rauzat-u-s-Safā*, Book iv. Ferishta, Book ix. *History of Sind*. Abū-l-fedā, *Annales Muslemici*, Vol. IV. p. 382. M. Petis de la Croix, Senior, *Histoire de Genghizcan*, Ch. xxxiv. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. *Gelaladdin*; and De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, Tom. II. p. 281.) These four last chiefly derive their accounts from Muhammed-bin-Ahmed Nasawī, the friend of Jalālu-d-Dīn, and the companion of his journies and expeditions. This work, entitled *Seirat-i Jalālu-d-Dīn Mankbernū*, is in the Royal Library of Paris, No. 845. It is in eight chapters, and the history is brought down to Jalālu-d-Dīn's death, A. D. 1231. It was composed in 1241. (See Rémusat, *Nouv : Mél : As : Tom. I. p. 435.*)

The passage here selected will show in what imminent danger India was then placed of sustaining an invasion of the Moghuls, headed by

Changez Khán in person. Some of the authorities above quoted mention that several bodies did cross over the Indus in pursuit, and that Prince Chaghataí Khán headed an attack against Multán, and captured it.

At nightfall every one retired to his tent, and in the morning both armies were again drawn up in battle array. This day Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín marched on foot at the head of his army, and all at once made a charge upon the Moghuls, and put them to flight. The kettle-drums were beaten in triumph by order of the Sultán, and his whole army pursued the Moghuls on horseback at full speed. At one time the defeated Moghuls rallied, but the Sultán rushed upon them, like a lion or crocodile upon its prey, and put many to death. Changez Khán shortly afterwards being reinforced with a small body of men, moved like destructive lightning or a rapid torrent against the Sultán. In the meantime, a dispute arising between Saifu-d-Dín Ighrák and Amín Malik, (Governor of Herát) on account of the distribution of booty,* and especially respecting the right to a particular horse, the latter struck the former on the head with a whip. The king called upon Amín Malik to give an explanation of his conduct, but he replied that it was not the custom of Kát-kali troops to be held responsible for their proceedings. Upon learning this, Saifu-d-Dín deserted the Sultán under cover of night, and went off with his troops to the hills of Kermán and Sankúrán. The alienation of Saifu-d-Dín Ighrák materially affected the power of the Sultán, and diminished his chance of success. He immediately made towards Ghazní, with the object of crossing the Indus, and for that purpose ordered boats to be kept in readiness. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Changez Khán, the latter hastened in pursuit of the Sultán, and surrounded him. At daybreak, the Sultán finding himself placed in a position between water and fire, with the Indus on the one side and the fiery enemy on the other, was prepared to give battle. Changez Khán fell upon the right wing commanded by Amín Malik, like a fierce lion upon a lame leopard, and drove it back with great slaughter. Amín Malik being thus defeated, fled towards Persháwar; but as the Moghul army was in possession of the road, he was slain, in the endeavour to effect his escape. Changez Khán compelled the left wing also to give way, but the Sultán firmly maintained his ground in the centre with seven hundred men, and opposed the enemy from the

* This booty was chiefly captured at the battle of Birúán, within a short distance of Ghazní, and which is erroneously supposed by Dr. Lee to be the Badáún of Dow and Ferishta.—*Ibn Batuta*, p. 97.

morning to mid-day, moving now to right now to left, sustaining every attack, and on each occasion slaying a number of the enemy. Meantime, the army of Changez Khán came pressing forward, and surrounding the position occupied by the Sultán. At last Ajásh Malik, son of the king's maternal uncle, seeing the dangerous position of his Majesty, seized the bridle of his charger, and persuaded him to leave the field. The Sultán bade adieu to his sons and female relatives, with a heavy heart and burning tears, and ordering his favorite horse to be prepared, he sprung on it, and rushed again into the torrent of conflict, like a crocodile into a river, and charged the enemy with irresistible force. Having succeeded in driving them back, he turned his horse's head, threw off on the way his coat of mail and shield; and urging his horse, plunged into the river, though the bank was upwards of thirty feet above the stream. He then swam* across like a noble lion, and reached the opposite bank in safety. Changez Khán witnessed the gallant exploit, and hastening to the bank prohibited the Moghuls from attempting to follow. The very heavens exclaimed in surprise "They never saw in the world any man equal to him, nor did they ever hear of one like him among the celebrated heroes of antiquity."† Changez Khán and all the Moghul nobles were astonished to find that the Sultán crossed the river in safety, and sat watching him as he wiped the water off his scabbard.‡ Changez Khán turning round to the Sultán's sons,§ addressed them in words expressive of his admiration.

* The original distinctly says "swam across the Jihún"—whether intentionally, or by error of the copyist, is doubtful. Eastern authors for a long time considered, either that the source of the Mehrán (Indus) was the river Jihún (Oxus), or that the sources of the two rivers were in the same mountain. (Uylenbroek, *Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio*, p. 54; Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 179, 205; Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 155; Masáuđi, *Meadows of Gold*, p. 38). A similar perverse use of the Sihún (Jaxartes) also occurs in the *Tārikhi Yemín-i*, where it is used to signify the Indus, and can be applicable to no other river; and again in Abú-l-fedá (*Annal: Muslem: Vol: III.* p. 113) where Reiske observes, "In Arabico legitur *Sihunum*, quod aperte mendosum est."

† Four years before, Shamsu-d-Din, the king of Dehli, had done the same thing, when in pursuit of Násiru-d-Din Kabácha, and though he succeeded in reaching the opposite bank with a few followers, many were drowned in the attempt. Mahárájá Ranjit Singh has gained fame by his accomplishment of the same feat.

‡ The *Rauzatu-s-Safá* and *Ferishta* represent Jalálu-d-Din as having carried his canopy with him, and seating himself under it when he had attained the opposite bank. The former also mentions that Changez Khán killed all the males in the Sultán's camp, and ordered his servants to search for the jewels which the Sultán had thrown into the Indus before his escape.

§ The *Habibu-s-Siyar* differs from other authorities in saying he turned round, and addressed his own sons.

After his escape, the Sultán was joined by about ten persons who had also succeeded in crossing the river. They all concealed themselves in the woods, where, before long, fifty other persons joined their number. When the Sultán received intelligence that a number of Hindús, consisting of cavalry and infantry, were lying within two parasangs of him, and had given themselves up to pleasure, he ordered his followers to provide themselves with clubs. Thus armed, they made a sudden night-attack upon the Hindú force, put many to death, and plundered their cattle and weapons. Upon this, several other people, some on mules and some on horned cattle, came over, and declared for the Sultán. Information being afterwards received that there were in the neighbourhood two or three thousand men of the Hindú force, he attacked them with one hundred and twenty men, put a number of them to the sword, and equipped his followers with the arms taken from the vanquished. When the report of the success and power of the Sultán was spread throughout India, a number of men from the hills of Balálá* and Nekálá assembled, and in a body of about five or six thousand horse, attacked the Sultán, who, drawing up in array five hundred horse, dispersed them. The Sultán afterwards received aid from several other bodies of men, so that there now flocked round his standard not less than three or four thousand men. All this came to the knowledge of the world-conquering king (of Delhi) who had already raised an army to oppose him, while he was within the limits of the Ghaznín territory—but when the Sultán first crossed the river, he was not able to cope with these troops, and therefore passed on as a fugitive towards Dehli.

The Moghuls, on hearing that he had taken that course, returned, and pillaged the confines of Ghor. The Sultán, on reaching the vicinity of Dehli, deputed messengers to king Shamsu-d-Din to communicate his arrival, and to prefer a request to reside temporarily in some village near Dehli. The King after mature reflection deputed a messenger† on his part with presents to the Sultán, but objected to comply with his demand for a place of residence, on the ground that the climate of India would not suit the constitution of the Sultán. On receiving this reply, the Sultán returned to Balálá and Nekálá. Those who had effected their escape joined him, and he had now about ten thousand men under him. He deputed Táju-d-Dín Malik Khilj, accompanied by a force, to Rái Kúkár‡ Sakuín, in the hills of Júdí,§ with a request

* All who record these events concur in reading the first word as Balálá. The second may be either Bānkálá or Mānkálá.

† Mirkhond and Ferishta mention that the Sultán's ambassador or messenger was secretly poisoned, the object of which is not very apparent.

‡ Other authorities read Ghakar.

§ Amongst Oriental Geographers this is the name of mount Ararat in Armenia, on which Noah's ark is said to have rested. In the Pan-jáb it applies to the salt range.

for the hand of his daughter, which request Rái Kúkár complied with, and sent his son with a number of troops to wait upon the Sultán, who gave the name of Kutlagh Khán to the son, and sent an army under the command of Uzbek Pái against Násiru-d-Dín Kabácha,* who was at enmity with Rái Kúkár. Kabácha, though he was an Amír under the Ghorian Kings, and governor of the country of Sind, yet was presumptuous enough to aspire to independence. When this chief and twenty thousand of his followers were encamped on the banks of the Indus within one parasang of Uch, Jehán Pahluwán Uzbek, with seven thousand men, suddenly fell upon them at night, defeated, and dispersed them. Kabácha embarked in a boat for Akar and Bakar (two island forts in his possession), while the Uzbek returned to his camp, taking possession of whatever fell in his way. He sent the news of this victory to the Sultán, who marched out, and with the army, which was under the command of the Uzbek, reached the palace of Kabácha. The latter being defeated fled from Akar and Bakar to Múltán, where the Sultán sent an ambassador to him with a demand for money, and for the surrender of the son and daughter of Amír Khán, who had taken shelter at Múltán, having fled from the battle which took place on the banks of the Indus. Kabácha sent the son and daughter of Amír Khán with a large contribution in money, soliciting at the same time that his territories might not be despoiled. The weather, however, growing hot, the Sultán determined to proceed from Uch to the Júdí hills, and on his way besieged the fort of Bistrám, where in an engagement he was wounded in the hand by an arrow. In the end, the Sultán captured the fort, and put all who were in it to the sword. At this place he received intelligence of the movement of the Moghul troops, who were endeavoring to effect his capture. He sent an ambassador to Kabácha to intimate his return, and to demand the tribute due by him. Kabácha however, refused and took up arms against him. The Sultán did not consider it expedient to remain at Uch, and as the inhabitants of that place had revolted, he set fire to the city and marched upon Sadúsán, where Fakhr-u-d-Dín had been the Governor before the establishment of Kabácha's power. Lachín of Khita, the commander of the troops, marched to oppose him. The latter was slain in the conflict, but the former, upon the Sultán's arrival at the place, with tears supplicated for pardon, and presented his sword in token of submission. The Sultán remained there for one month, and then conferred an honorary dress upon Fakhr-u-d-Dín, and making over to him the government of Sadúsán, marched towards Dewal (Daibal) and Damrila. Husrar, who was the ruler of this territory, took to flight and embarked on a boat. The Sultán on reaching the borders of Dewal and Damrila deputed Khás Khán with a force to Nahrwála, from which place he brought away much spoil and many prisoners. Shortly after,

* Kabájah is the common spelling.

the Sultán entered Dewal and Damrila, and erected a great mosque in the former place, opposite the temple of an idol.* In the meantime, intelligence was received from Irák that Ghaiásu-d-Dín Sultán had settled himself in Irák; that most of the troops of that country professed their attachment to Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín, and felt anxious for his presence. Upon this the Sultán prepared to join them, but on learning that Birák Hájib was with hostile intentions fortifying the strong post of Budsír in Kirmán, he determined on proceeding to Irák by way of Mekrán.

The next extract relates to the Geography of India. It is taken almost entirely from the work of Abú Rihán al-Bírúní, composed in the early part of the eleventh century, and therefore represents the knowledge of India which was attained by the Mahometan invaders three hundred years before our author wrote. We are fortunately able to compare a great part of this passage with the original Arabic which has lately been published by M. Reinaud, and it will be seen how few additions have been made by Rashídu-d-Dín, and how scrupulously he follows his predecessor, even in his errors. M. Reinaud is mistaken (*Fragments*, p. xv.) in supposing that our author did not make use of the published chapters of Bírúní. For the purpose of comparison, a Note† is appended, showing what was the knowledge attained of India by eastern Geographers before the time of Al Bírúní; from which it will be evident that the whole of upper India was a perfect *terra incognita*, and that the Arabians knew much less of it than Pliny and Ptolemy. Even Abú-l-fedá, who

* Ferishta says that the name of the chief of Daibal, or Thatta, was Jaishí, and that the Sultán demolished the temples of the idols at that place.

† See Note A.

wrote more than three centuries later, and quotes the works of Edrísí and Yácút, and most of the other geographical treatises written during that interval, gives us less information about India than is contained in the following extract. This consideration, therefore, will be a sufficient apology for its length.

SECTION III.

On the hills and rivers of Hind and Sind.

Philosophers and Geometricians have divided the land of Hind into three equal* parts, giving to each part a separate name, as appears from the book called Pátanjali. It resembles the back of a crab on the surface of the water, as is seen in the annexed plate.† The mountains and plains in these three parts of India are extensive, and occur one after the other in successive order. The mountains appear to stand near each other like the joints of the spine, and extend through the inhabited world from east to west, i. e. from the eastern extremity of China through Tibet, the country of the Turks, Cábul, Badakhshán, Tukháristán, Bámián, Khurásán, Gílán, Azarbáiján, Armenia, Rúm, to the country of the Franks and Galicia on the west. Their faces are varied, embracing between their projections plains and inhabited spots. Rivers flow at their base. Hind is surrounded on the south by the sea,‡ and on the north by the lofty mountains and

* See Ritter, *Erdk.* IV., 2, 495, and Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums* I. 92.

† This may perhaps be translated "just as we see it at this day."

‡ The original Arabic says: "India is bounded on all other sides by lofty mountains," and after this follows a curious passage omitted from the Jámíu-t-Tawárikh. "If you examine the country of Hind, and consider well the round stones which are found below the soil, at whatever depth you may dig, you will find that they are large near the mountains where the current of water is impetuous, and smaller as you depart from the mountains, the strength of the current being also diminished, and that they become like sand, where the water is stagnant and in the vicinity of the sea. Hence you cannot but conclude that this country was once merely a sea, and that the continent has been formed by successive increments of alluvion brought down by the rivers."

plains which contain the sources of these rivers ; on the east by Chín and Máchin, and on the west by Cábul. On the north lie Cashmír, Turkistán and the mountain of Merú, which is extremely high, and stands opposite to the southern pole. The heavenly bodies perform their revolutions round it, rising and setting on each side of it. A day and a night of this place is each equal to six of our months.*

In a different direction from this hill stands another, not circular, and which is said to be composed of gold and silver. The Himma mountains lie on the north of Kanauj, and on account of snow and cold form the extreme point of the habitation of man. This range has Cashmír in its centre and runs by Tibet, Turk, Khazar,† and Sakália to the sea of Jurján and Khwárazm. The northern mountains have connection with mount Merú, which lies south of them. The rivers of the entire country of Hind which flow from the northern mountains amount to eleven. Those which flow from the eastern mountains amount to the same number. Their sources are very distant, towards the farthest south-east quarter of the earth. They discharge themselves into the sea. Those, however, which rise in the extreme south do not discharge themselves into the sea.

Besides this there is another lofty ridge of mountains intervening between Turkistán and Tibet on the one side, and India on the other, which is not exceeded in height by any of the mountain chains of Hindústán. Its ascent is eighty parasangs. From its summit India looks black, and the passes and rugged declivities at its foot look like little hillocks, while Tibet and China appear red. The descent from its lowest eminence to Tibet is one parasang. This mountain is so high that Firdúsi probably meant the following verse to apply to it :—" It is so low and so high, so soft and so hard, that you can see from it the belly of a fish as well as the back of the moon."

Some other mountains are called Harmakut, in which the Ganges has its source. These are impassable, and beyond them lies Máháchín. To these mountains most of the rivers which lave the cities of India owe their origin. Besides these moun-

Strabo and Arrian have also expressed this opinion, and modern Geologists are fond of indulging in the same speculation. The very latest writer on this subject observes : " Throughout the whole plain of India, from Bengal to the bottom of the deep wells in Jesselmere, and under the mica and hornblende schist of Ajmere, the same kind of very fine hard-grained blue granite is found in round and rolled masses." *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No. cxxxviii. p. 140.

* Compare Strabo II. 1—19. Plin. N. H. VI. 22. 6 and Solinus 52. 13.

† The original has Khúz. Khazar appears correct ; it is the name of a son of Noah, after whom Dasht-i-Khazar, a region of the sixth climate, is called. (*Sádk Isfahání*, p. 23.)

tains there are others called Kalárchal. They resemble crystal balls, and are always covered with snow, like those of Damávend. They can be seen from Tákas and Laháwar. There are certain other mountains called Bilor, in the country of the tribe of Turks denominated Hamilán. In two days' journey you arrive at another part of Turkistán where the Bhotyas and Dyáu dwell. Their king is called Bhot Shah, and their cities are Gilgit, Asúrah, Salsas,* &c., and their language is Turkí. The inhabitants of Cashmír suffer greatly from their encroachments and depredations. The mountains which are noticed in this version of Abú Ríhán can be distinguished from each other as easily as a tortoise from the water, by attending to the enumeration above given.

The stream which flows by Cábúl has its source in the mountains of the country of Cábús, and is called the Ghurrúr. It passes by Birúán, Ábsnprohit, Sáká and Lamghán, near which it combines with the Sanya Gháarak at the fort of Dirúna. It then falls into the Núrúkerát, and the united rivers form a large stream opposite Persháwar† which is known as the Labarú.‡ They fall into the Sind near the fort of Tankúr, a city dependent on the city of Caudahar,§ which is in Hind. After that, comes

* Gilgit retains its name to the present day; Asúrah is the same as the Astor, or Hasora, of our maps, and Salsas or Salsalu is perhaps Chelás on the Indus. M. Reinaud reads Schaltas.

† As some interesting speculations depend upon the mode of spelling the name of this town, it may be as well to remark that all ancient authorities, even down to the historians of the sixteenth century, concur in spelling it Persháwar. Hence the Chinese divide the first syllable into Poo-loo-sha, the capital of the kingdom of Purusha. See the *Foe-koue-ki*, as well as the translation of *Ma-twan-lin*, by M. Rémusat.—*Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.* Tom. I. p. 196.

‡ This is perhaps meant for Al-Bara, but the entire passage is very doubtful in the original, and much has been translated conjecturally.

§ The proper name is Gandhārā, almost always converted by Muslimán writers into Candahár, but we must take care not to confound it with the more noted Candahár of the west. The Gandhārās on the Indus are well known to the Sanscrit writers, and there is a learned note on them in Troyer's *Raj Tarangini*, Tom. II. pp. 316—321. It is not improbable that we have their descendants in the Gangarías of the Indus, one of the most turbulent tribes of the Hazára country. The name given to them by Dionysius, in his *Periegesis*, resembles this modern name more than the Sanscrit one. He says, *Διωνύσιον θεράποντες Γανγαρίδαι ναύοντιν*. He places them more to the east, but Salmasius and M. Lassen consider that we should read *Γανδαρίδαι*. Herodotus calls them *Γανδαριοι*. The *Γορύανδης* of Nonnus, which M. Troyer thinks points to the abode of the Gandhārās, is probably to be looked for elsewhere. See also Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Rómen*, Vol. V. pp. 5, 30, 107. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. Lassen, *De Pentap. Ind.* p. 15—17. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 453. *Ersch and Gruber's Encyc.* Art. *Indien*, p. 2.

the river of Tibet, called the Jailam. The waters of the Chandra combine with it, and fifty miles below the junction, the united stream flows to the west of Múltán. The Biah joins it from the east. It also receives the waters of the Iráwa (Rávi) fed by the stream of Kaj, besides that of Koh, which both flow from the hills of Bhátel.* They all combine with the Sutlej below Múltán, at a place called Panjnad, on account of the junction of the five rivers. They form a very wide stream, which, at the time it attains its extreme breadth, extends ten parasangs, submerging trees of the forest, and carrying them off like so many nests of birds. This stream, when it passes Alor† and enters Sind under the name of Míhrán, flows with a slower current, and forms several islands as far as Mausúra, which city it also encloses within two of its arms. From this place, the river flowing by two streams empties itself into the sea, one in the neighbourhood of the city of Lahárám,‡ and the other, under the name of Sind Ságar, that is, the river of Sind, after a winding course towards the east, enters the sea on the borders of the territory of Cach. In the same way as these rivers, when united, derive their name from the number five, so the seven rivers, flowing from the northern side of these same mountains, and falling above Termez into the river of Balkh, are called by the fire-worshippers of Soghd the Saba Sind, or seven Sinds.

The river Sarsut falls into the sea to the east of Súmnáth.

The Jumna falls into the Gangá, which flows to the east of Canauj. After uniting they fall into the sea near Gangá Ságar. The river Nermad (Nerbadda) lies between the mouths of the Sarsutí and Gangá. Its source is in the eastern hills, and it has a south westerly course, till it falls into the sea near Bahrúch,§

* There is some confusion here, which cannot be resolved by any interpretation of the original.

† This is no doubt the proper reading, though it assumes various forms in different works. Ibn Haukal calls it *Ahrúz*. The *Geographia Nubiensis* gives it as *Dúr*. In the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh* it resembles *Ahrúz*. The ruins of Alore are between Bakar and Khairpúr, on the eastern bank of the Indus.

‡ This is the Larry Bunder of Major Rennell, (*Memoir*, p. 285) Lahariah of M. Kosegarten (*De Mohammede, Comment: Acad.*) and the Lohari of Dr. Lee, (*Ibn Batuta*, p. 102). Ibn Batuta remarks of it, "It has a large harbour into which ships from Persia, Yemen, and other places put. At the distance of a few miles from this city are the ruins of another, in which stones, the shapes of men and beasts almost innumerable, are to be found. The people of this place think that there was a city formerly in this place, the greater part of the inhabitants of which were so base, that God transformed them, their beasts, their herbs, even to the very seeds, into stones; and indeed stones in the shape of seeds are here almost innumerable."

§ This is spelt by various authors Barúj, Barús, Bahruj and Bahrúch. It is the Baroach of the present day, the *Βαρύραχα ἐμπόριον* of Ptolemy

about sixty Yojanas to the east of Súmnáth. On the other side of the Gangá, the Rahet, the Gomatí, and the Sarjú unite* near the city of Bári. The Hindús believe that the Gangá has its source in paradise, from whence it is precipitated on the earth in seven streams, the centre being denominated the Gangá. The three eastern streams are the Pálan, the Ládi and Nalin. The three western streams are the Sit, the Chakas and Sind.† When the Sit leaves the snowy mountains it flows through the countries of Silk, Karsib, Chín, Barbar, Jír, Sankurkiet, Mankilkgor and Sakrit, and falls into the western ocean. On the south of it is the river Chakas, which flows by the countries of Damrú, Kálík, Dholak, Nijár, Barbar, Raj, Salkúbar, and Ijat. The Sind has its course through the country of that name and—(here follow thirteen illegible names). The Gangá after flowing through Bargund-

and Arrian, and the Bhṛigukacha of the Sanscrit authorities. See Ptol. *Geog.* Lib. VII. Cap. 1, Tab. 10; Mannert, *Geographie der Gr. and Rom.* Vol. V. p. 127. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Vol. IV. Pt. II. p. 626, Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 18. Lassen, *Allerthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 107.

* M. Reinaud (p. 100) gives the first as Rahab. A river of this name, or Rahet, is often mentioned by early Mahometan authors, and appears generally to indicate the Rám-ganga. The union of the Sarjú with the Gomatí, which M. Reinaud reads Kúbín, is a fable. There is no confluence of three rivers at Bári, but not far off from it the Jamnuári and the Kathení unite with the Gomatí. The map of Oude which is given in the "Agra Guide," calls these rivers the Saraen and Perhí, names which conform pretty well with the رهب and سرور of M. Reinaud's manuscript.

† These are evidently the Sita and Chackshu of Bhaskara Acharya. Mr. Colebrooke gives us the following passage from that astronomer:—

"The holy stream which escapes from the foot of Vishnu descends on mount Meru, whence it divides into four currents, and passing through the air it reaches the lakes on the summit of the mountains which sustain them. Under the name of Sita this river joins the Bhadrāswa; as the Alakanandá it enters Bharatavarsha; as the Chacksa it proceeds to Retumala, and as the Bhadra it goes to the Kuru of the north." *Siddhánta Sirómani; Bhavana Kosha*, 37 and 38. See also *Vishnu Purána*, p. 171.

Prof. Wilson observes, "The Hindús say that the Ganges falls from heaven on the summit of Meru, and thence descends in four currents; the southern branch is the Ganges of India, the northern branch which flows into Turkey, is the Bhadrāsámá, the eastern branch is the Sita, and the western is the Chakshu or Oxus." *Sanscrit Dict. Art. Meru*. But the Rámáyana mentions seven streams, and from that work Bírúni evidently copied his statement. The true Sanscrit names are almost identical with those given in the text. The eastern streams are Hládani, Pávaní and Naliní, the western are Sita, Suchakshu and Sindhu. In the centre flows the Bhágíráthí. The Matsya and Pádma Puránas give the same account. See *Rámáyana*, Lib. I. XLIV. 14. 16. Ed. Schlegel.

hart (and four other illegible* names), and other cities, arrives at the defiles of the hills of Band, where are many elephants, and then discharges itself into the southern ocean.

Among the eastern streams is Lāwan, which flows through seven kingdoms, whose inhabitants have lips like inverted ears. Thence it flows to three other countries, of which the people are

* For the purpose of comparison I subjoin the passage as it is given in the Calcutta and Lucnow (Lakhnau) copies. As the copyists were evidently ignorant of what they were writing, they have for the most part omitted, or guessed, the diacritical points.

The first Extract is from the Calcutta copy.

نهر سب چون از هممنت بیرون آید بر ممالک سلک بگذرد
و کرسب و حین و بربر و حبره لنگرکلب سکرت پس در بهر
معروف افتد و از جنوب اونهر کلش که از ان در ممالک دمرد
و کاکل و دهولک و بنجار و بربرکاخ بکرنیونار و انجت میخورند
اما آب سند و یعوق کند و درد درندند و کابرهار روش کرور
سنور اندر مرد سیاب سند کند بهیمروز مرمون سکور درنهر لنک
بر کلدیت راسکین بلاد اورگان هند باره شهر و قصبات دیگر
لنگ بر ایشان یگذرد

The following is from the Lucnow copy.

نهر سند چون از هممنت بیرون آید بر ممالک سلک بگذرد
و کبوشبا و حین و بربر و حبریه بشکرکلت منکک کور منکونت
پس در بحر مغرب ریزد و از جنوب اونهر جکش که آب آن در
ممالک دمرد و کاکل و دهولک و بنجار و بربرکاخ ثلغومار و انجت
میخورند اما آب سند ممالک سند را خرق کند و درد درندند
و کاندهار رورس کرور میو اندر مرد بسات هند و کت بهیمروز
مرمودز سکور و نهر کنگ بر عمود اوسط ممر بگذرد بر کندهرت
و اکبش برادر و اورگان و چند باره شهرها و قصبات دیگر کنگ
بر ایشان بگذرد

exceedingly black : whence it runs through other countries, and falls into the eastern sea in eight different channels.

The river Máwan runs by Katah, and falls into the Barna. It flows through several countries, and then arrives at a country where they drink an electuary of hemp. The Brahmans also drink it. Thence it flows through Bimán, and thence falls into the sea of Jáj.

The river Makan flows through Námrán and other countries, where people have their habitations in the hills. They are called Harkaran Barabaran, that is, their ears descend to their shoulders.* Thence it runs to Asmuk,† where men's faces are like those of animals, and then falls into the sea.

The Lashan is a very large stream.

SECTION IV.

Relating to the Countries of Hind, the Cities, some Islands, and their Inhabitants.

It has been mentioned in the beginning of this work that the country of Hind is divided into three parts. The Indians are of opinion that it is nine times larger than Irán, and is included within three Aklíms (climates) in the following manner, viz. the western portion is in the third climate, and the eastern in the first, but the chief portion of Hind is included in the second climate. Its central territory is called Madhyades, which means "the middle land." The Persians call it Canauj. It is called the Madhyades, because it lies between the seas and mountains, between hot and cold countries, and between the two extremities of west and east. Its capital was the residence of the all-powerful and independent kings of India. Sind lies on

* These remind us of some of the tribes enumerated in the Rámáyana, the Karna-právaranas "those who wrap themselves up in their ears," Ashtakarnakas, "the eight-eared," or, as Wilson suggests, Ashtha-Karnakas, "having lips extending to their ears." See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII. p. 456. Robertson, *Ancient India*, p. 34.

† This is evidently meant for the Sanscrit word Aswamukha, the "horse-faced." They are noticed also in the Sequel of the Periplus. They are the attendants of Indra and Kuvera. The tales of these demi-gods and other monsters, such as the Cynocephali of Ælian and Ctesias are all derived from native originals. See Ælian, *Nat. Animal.* IV. 46. *Ctesias Operum Reliquiæ*, ed: Bayer, p. 320. Wilson, *Notes on Ctesias*, p. 36. Plin: *Histor. Nat.* VII. 2. Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. II. p. 524. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII. p. 338, and Vol. IX. p. 68.

the west of this territory, and if any one wishes to come from Nímroz or Irán to this country, he will have to pass through Cábul. The city of Canauj stands on the western bank of the Ganges. It was formerly the chief city of India, but in consequence of its being deserted by its ruler, it has now fallen to ruin, and Bári, which is three days journey from it on the eastern side of the Ganges, has now succeeded as the capital. Canauj is as celebrated for being the capital of the Pándú kings, as Mathúra (Muttra) is on account of its being the abode of Bāsdeo, or Krishna. This city lies on the eastern bank of the Jamna, at the distance of twenty-seven farsangs from Canauj. The city of Thanesar is situated between the rivers, nearly seventy farsangs north of Canauj, and within fifty farsangs of Mathúra. The Ganges issues from a source styled Gangdwár, and waters most of the cities of India.

Those who have not personally ascertained the relative distances of the cities of Hind from each other, must be dependent on the information derived from others.

In stating these distances we will begin from Canauj. In going towards the south, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, you arrive at a place called Jájmau,* at a distance of 12 farsangs, each farsang being equal to four miles; 8 farsangs from that is Karwah;—from Karwah to Brahmasik, 8;—thence to Abhápúri 8;—thence to the tree† of Prág, 12. This is at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. From the confluence to the embouchure of the Ganges, is twelve‡ farsangs. From the same confluence, in directing your course towards the south, a road leads along the bank of the river to Arak Tírat,§ which is distant 12 farsangs;—to the country of Uríhár,|| 40;—to Urdá-

* M. Reinaud reads *Haddjamava*. There can be little doubt that Jájmau, close to Kánhpúr, (Cawnpoor) is meant.

† The mention of the *tree* is important, as showing that at that time there was no city on the site of Allahábád, but merely a tree at the confluence; which is described in a subsequent passage as being of large dimensions, with two main boughs, one withered, the other flourishing, and as the Indians are represented as mounting on the tree to enable them to precipitate themselves into the Ganges, the river must have then flowed under it. The trunk of the tree still exists, and is as holy as ever, but is almost excluded from view by being enclosed in a subterraneous dwelling, called Patálpúri, evidently of great antiquity, within the walls of the fort of Allahábád (Ilhábád).

‡ This accords with the original Arabic, but there is some unaccountable error.

§ Perhaps the island of Karan Tírat, now abbreviated into Kantit, near Mirzápúr.

|| M. Reinaud reads *Ouharkhar*. Perhaps Behár is meant, though the direction is too easterly. It is to be observed, however, of Al Birúni's bearings, that they are generally much more incorrect than his distances, as may be seen by comparing the relative position of

bisk,* on the borders of the sea, 50;—thence you go to Sam, on the shore of the sea, towards the east. The first of its provinces is Dúrt† and it adjoins Jún, 40;—to Ránji, 30;—to Malea, 40;—to Núnah, 30;—which is the remotest point.

If you go from Bári to the Ganges, in an easterly direction, you come to Ajodhya, at the distance of 25 farsangs;—thence to the great Benares, 20. In taking a south-easterly course from that, you come, at the distance of 35 farsangs, to Sarwára;‡—thence to Patalipúra, 20;—thence to Mungíri, 15; thence to Champa, 30;—thence Dúkanpúr, 50;—thence to the confluence at Gangá Sagar, 30.

In going from Canauj to the east you come to Málíś Bári, at the distance of 10 farsangs;—thence to Dúkam, 45;—thence to Silhet,|| 10;—thence to Bhet, 12;—thence you go to Tilút,

any two places, of which the identification, is unquestionable,—as between Dhar and U'jain. He makes the former lie due east from the latter, whereas in reality it is even more than north-east. Vidárbhá, or Berár, may possibly be meant, in which case there would be no correction on account of the bearing.

* M. Reinaud reads Ourdabysehan. Perhaps Urya Des, Odra Des, or Orissa, is meant. See Lassen, *Ind : Alterthumskunde*, I. 186.

† This is very obscure. M. Reinaud translates it thus : en suivant les bords de la mer et en se dirigeant vers l'Orient, à travers les provinces auxquelles confinent maintenant les états du roi Djour; la première de ces provinces est Dravida.

‡ This may, perhaps, mean the country beyond Sarjú, the name by which Gorakhpúr is now locally known to the people about Benares, and hence the name of one of the most populous tribes of Brahmans. Sarwár is an abbreviation of Sarjúpár, “the other side of the Sarjú.” So Páradas is used in the Puranic lists to represent people who live *beyond* the Indus, just as τὰ πέρα is used in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea to signify the ports beyond the straits. In Plutarch (*Camillus*, C. 21,) an expression exactly equivalent occurs, πὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν “the other side of the river.”

§ This is the name by which Bári is called in this passage. As there are several other towns of the same name in the neighbourhood, this may have been a distinctive title given to the new Capital. The combination is by no means improbable, for as Bári means “a garden,” and Málí, “a gardener,” the words are frequently coupled together. The following lines, for instance, in which the two names occur in conjunction, is a common charm for the bite of a wasp :—

बर्र बर्र दू कौं बर्रामी ।
मेरा काटा बस न पामी ।
दू गई माझी की बारी ।
बसने बसिं भारि उतारी ।

|| This may be the Silhet Sháhjelánpúr of the Gorakhpúr district, near the Gandak. In that case, Bhet would correspond with Bettiah, and Tilút with Tírhút. It can scarcely be made to apply to Bhotán, as M. Reinaud conjectures.

where the men are black, and flat-nosed like the Turks. They extend to the mountains of Merú.

From Nipál to Bhatesar* is 30 days' journey, which implies a distance of about 80 farsangs. The road has a hundred ascents and descents. On account of the difficulty of carrying burdens on the shoulders, bridges are built in several places. The rivers in those hills are a hundred yards below the bridge. They say that in those places there are stags with four eyes, and very beautiful.

Bhatesar is the first city on the borders of Tibet. There the language, costume, and appearance of men are entirely different. Thence to the top of the highest mountain, of which we spoke at the beginning, is a distance of 20 farsangs. From the top of it Tibet looks red and Hind black.

From Canauj, in travelling south-east, you come to Jajháotí, at a distance of 30 farsangs, of which the capital is Kajráha.† In that country are the two forts, of Gwáliár and Kálinjar.‡ Thence to Dhál, of which the capital is Bitúri, under a chief called Kankyú, is 20 farsangs. Thence to Ilsár;—thence to Bhawás, on the shore of the sea.

From Canauj, in travelling south-west, you come to Así,§ at

* M. Reinaud reads Yhoutyscher; the same reading occurs at p. 40.

† This is no doubt the Kajwará of Ibn Batuta, "at which there is a lake about a mile in length, and round this are temples in which there are idols." (p. 162.) Its real name is Kajrái, on the banks of the Ken, between Chatterpúr and Panna, said to have been founded by the great parent of the Chandel race. The Kingdom of which it is the capital, is evidently the Chi-chi-to of the Chinese travellers.

The ruined temples at Kajráiare of great antiquity and interest. They are described in the Mahoba Sama, and there said to have been built by Hamotí, upon the occasion of her having held a Banda jag, or penitential sacrifice. She had committed a little *faux pas* with the moon in human shape, and as a self-imposed punishment for her indiscretion, held a Banda jag, a part of which ceremony consists in sculpturing indecent representations on the walls of temples, and holding up one's own foibles to the disgust and ridicule of the world. Hamotí was the daughter of Hemráj, spiritual adviser to Indrají, Gaharwár Rájá of Benares. The ruins of Kajrái are now undergoing examination.

‡ There have been lately some speculations hazarded about the fort of Kálinjar not being older than A.D. 1205. Birúni's mention of its strong fort in his time makes it two hundred years older, and still leaves its origin indefinite. (See *Journal A. S. B.* No. 188. p. 172.)

§ M. Reinaud says, without doubt this is the name of the town ordinarily written *Hasi*. If Hansi of Hariána, as it appears, is meant, it neither corresponds with the distance nor direction. The ruins of Así, or more correctly Asní, are on the banks of the Gauges. It is mentioned in the *Tárikh-i Yemíni*, and is the place to which the Rájá of Canauj sent his treasure for security when he was attacked by the Ghorian General, Kutbu-d-dín Eibek.

the distance of 18 farsangs;—to Sahína, 17;—to Chandra,* 18;—to Rajaurí, 15;—to Naraya, 20. This was the capital of Guzerát, till it was destroyed, and the inhabitants removed to a new town. The distance between Naraya and Mathura is the same as between Mathura and Canauj, that is 28 farsangs.

In going from Mathura to Ujain, you pass through several towns, and at no greater distance from one another than 5 farsangs. From Mathura, at the distance of 35 farsangs, you come to a large town called Dúdhlí;—thence to Bafhúr, 7;—thence to Mahabhalesán, 5. This is the name of the idol of that place. Thence to Ujain 9, the idol of which place is Máhákál. Thence to Dhár, 6 farsangs.

South from Niraya lies Mewár, which has the lofty fortress of Chitore.† From the fortress to Dhár, the capital of Málwá, 20. Ujain is to the east of Dhár, at the distance of 9 farsangs. From Ujain to Mahabhalesán,‡ which is in Málwá, 10. From Dhár, going south, you come to Mahrmahra,§ at the distance of 20 farsangs;—thence to Kundki, 20;—thence to Namáwar on the banks of the Nerbadda, 10;—thence to Biswar, 20;—thence to Mundgir,|| on the banks of the Godavery, 60 farsangs.

From Dhár to the river (Nerbadda), 9;—thence to the country of the Mahrattas, 18;—thence to Konkan, of which the capital is Tána, on the sea shore, 25 farsangs.

* This is evidently meant for Chanderi.

† This would appear to be the correct reading. M. Reinaud translates: “Mycr est le nom d’un royaume où se trouve la forteresse de Djatraour.”

‡ Perhaps Bhilsa is alluded to. There are many ruins in its neighbourhood well worth examination, as at U’degir, Sacheh, Káneh Kheri, and Piplea Bijoli. There are other places on the upper Betwa where extensive ruins are to be seen, as Ebnai, U’dipúr, Pathári, anciently called Bír Nagar, Gheárispúr and Bhojpúr. These are all likely to be examined, now that such a zealous enquirer as Capt. J. Cunningham is in that country.

§ This may have some connection with the Matmayurpúr, or Mattinagar, of the inscription found at Rannode, in which a prince is represented as “repopulating this long desolate city.” *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No. 183, p. 1086.

|| Gildemeister says of this place, “urbs prorsus incognita.” (*De reb. Ind.* p. 44.) It has been supposed to be Munghír. It is not improbable that Múngí Patan may be meant, the capital of the famous Sálivahana, and the Mankir of the Arabians, which is described as the capital of the Ballahra. Masaúdí says, his dominions were chiefly mountainous, and that they were eighty Sindí farsangs, of eight miles each, from the sea. The Arab travellers of Renaudot say he was the most mighty potentate of India; that his dominions began at Konkan and extended to the confines of China; that he was constantly at war with his neighbours, one of whom is the King of Haraz, by which probably Orissa is meant.

Edrisi tells us that the capital of the Ballahra was in his time Nahr-wála.

(Here follows the description of the Rhinoceros and Sarabha, which agrees with the original Arabic, and need not be translated in this place. The Rhinoceros is called Karkadan in the original, and appears to be the same as the *καρδάκων* of Ælian, *Hist. An.* XVI. 20, 21.)

From Niraya, in a south-west direction, lies Anhalwára, at a distance of 60 farsangs;—thence to Súmnát, on the sea, 50. From Anhalwára, towards the south, to Lárdes,* of which the capitals are Bahrúj and Dhanjúr, 42. These are on the shore of the 'sea, to the east of Tána.

West from Niraya† is Múltán, at the distance of 50 farsangs;—thence to Bhátí, 15. South-west from Bhátí is Arúr, at a distance of 15 farsangs. This city is situated between two arms of the Indus. Thence to Balmanwás Mansúra, 20;—thence to Loharání, the embouchure of the river, 30 farsangs.

From Canauj, going north, and turning a little to the west, you come to Sirsáwalí, 50 farsangs. Thence to Pinjore. That place is on a lofty hill,‡ and opposite to it, in the plains, is the

Possibly Mankír may be the Minnagara of Ptolemy, but the position of that town must have been too far west to answer to the capital of the Ballahra. Ibn Al Wárdi speaks of it as if it was extant when he wrote. See a note below, on the position of Minnagara.

* See Lassen, *Zeitschrift, f. d. K. d. Morgenl.* I. 227.

† This is the nearest resemblance to the Jámiu-t-Tawárikh. M. Reinaud reads it Bazána. It is one of the most interesting places in the North Western Provinces to identify in the pages of Birúni, on account of its being so frequently mentioned as a terminus of the Itineraries. It appears to be Narwar, notwithstanding that the Niraya which occurs first in the Extract must evidently be Anhalwára, the capital of Guzerát. In this passage, he states Niraya to be "the capital of Guzerát, which our countrymen," he adds, "call Narayana." M. Reinaud says that the manuscript in some places should be read Narana, not Bazana. Birúni makes this Bazána to be 88 parasangs south-west from Canauj, which approximates to the real distance of about 550 miles. It is reached through the Ásí mentioned above, 18 parasangs;—then Sahína, 17 parasangs;—then Chanderí, 18 parasangs;—then Rajauri (probably Rájwára or Rájgarh) 15 parasangs;—then Bazána, the capital of Guzerát, 20 parasangs.

If we omit this Bazána, we shall find that, whenever it is again mentioned, Narwar satisfies all the requisite conditions. The distance between Mathura and Bazána is the same distance as Mathura from Canauj—so is Narwar. It is 25 parasangs from Mycar (Mewar);—so is Narwar. In a south-west direction to Anhalwára it is 60 parasangs—so is Narwar. Here it is made quite a different place from the capital of Guzerát. It is 50 parasangs west of Múltán. If we take the town of Múltán, the distance is too short; but if the borders of the kingdom of Múltán are meant, it will answer very well, and would also fix Bhátí to be the same as Bhatnir, which has some probability in its favor.

‡ This is not correct with reference to modern Pinjore, which is in a valley on the southern side of the Hills.

city Thanesar;—thence to Dahmála,* the capital of Jalandhar, and at the base of a mountain, 18; thence to Láwar, 10;—thence, towards the west, to Sidda, 13;—thence to the fort of Rájgarhi, 8;—thence, towards the north, to Cášmír, 25 farsangs.

From Canauj, towards the west, to Dyamau, is 10 farsangs;—thence to Gahí,† 10;—thence to Ahár, 10;—thence to Mirat, 10;—thence, across the Jumna, to Pánípat, 10;—thence to Kaithal, 10;—thence to Sonám, 10.

In going north-west from the latter place to Arthúr, 9 farsangs;—thence to Hajnúr, 6;—thence to Mandhúkúr, the capital of Loháwar, on the east of the river Iráwa, 8;—thence to the river Chandraha (Chenab,) 12;—thence to Jailam, on the western bank of the Behat, 18;—thence to Warhand, capital of Candahár, west of the Sind, which the Moghuls call Kárájang, 20; thence to Persháwar, 14;—thence to Dinúr, 15;—thence to Cábul, 12;—thence to Ghaznín, 17.

Cášmír‡ is a valley surrounded by lofty inaccessible hills and broad deserts; on the east and south it is bordered by Hind;—on the west by kings, of whom the nearest are Bilor Sháh, Shahnán Sháh, and Dúkhán Sháh, extending to the frontiers of Badakhshán; on the north, and partly on the east, by the Turks of Chín and Tibet.

From the mountain of Yutíshar to Cášmír, across the country of Tibet, is nearly 300 farsangs. The people of Cášmír do not ride on quadrupeds, but are carried on men's shoulders in a Katút, which resembles a throne. The servants of the Government are always on the alert, and watch the entrances and passes of the country. They do not allow strangers to enter the country, except by ones and twos. This prohibition extends even to Jews and Hindús, how then can any one else gain admittance? The principal entrance is at Barbhán, half way between the Sind and Jailam. From that place to the bridge, which is constructed at the confluence of the Kosarí and Mamherí, flowing from the

* This is doubtless Dehmári, which, as we learn from several historians, was the ancient name of Núrpúr, before it was changed by Jehángír, in honor of Núr Jehán Begam. Núrpúr is beyond the Beás; but that would not affect the identification, for the author says merely Jalandhar, not the Doáb, or Interamnia, of Jalandhar.

† The Arabic has Gatí.—Perhaps Ráj Ghát may be meant. All the other places mentioned in this paragraph are extant to this day.

‡ Mention of Cášmír occurs in another part of the work, which contains little that is not noticed here. The author adds that in Cášmír there is a city called Dárabarka, in which there are 3,600,000 inhabitants, and that it was built 2,000 years ago. That the valley was formerly twelve hundred years under water; when, at the entreaties of Casip, the waters found their way to the sea, and the valley became habitable.

mountains of Silák, with the Jailam, is 8 farsangs. Thence you arrive, at a distance of five days' journey, at a defile through which the Jailam runs.

At the end of the defile lies Dwáral Marsad, on both sides of the river. There the Jailam, dividing into two streams, enters the plains, and after two days' journey, unites again and reaches Adushán,* the capital of Cášmír. The city of Cášmír is four farsangs from Adushán. It is built on the banks of the Jailam, on which there are several bridges and boats. The source of the Jailam is the mountain of Harmakat,† which is also the source of the Ganges. This mountain is impassable on account of the exceeding cold, for the snow never melts. On the other side of it lies Máhá Chin, i. e., great Chin. After the Jailam has left the mountains, it reaches Adushán in two days. Four farsangs from that, it reaches a lake, a farsang square, on the borders of which there is much cultivation, and a dense population. It then leaves the lake, and enters another defile near the city of Ushkar.

The Sind rises in the mountains of Umah, on the borders of the Turkish country. Passing by the mountains of Bilúr and Hamílán, it reaches in two days' journey the country of the Bho-tyawári Turks, from whose encroachments the Cášmírians suffer great distress. Whoever travels along the left bank of the river will find villages and towns close to one another as far as the mountain Lárjík, which resembles Damávend, between which and Cášmír there is a distance of two farsangs. It can always be seen from the boundary of Cášmír and Laháwar. The fort of Rájgarhí is to the south of it, and Lohúr, than which there is no stronger fort, is to the west. At a distance of 3 farsangs is Rájáwari, where merchants carry on much traffic, and it forms one of the boundaries of Hind on the north. On the hills to the west of it is the tribe of Afghaus, who extend to the land of Sind.

On the south of that tribe is the sea, on the shore of which the first city is Tez, the capital of Mekrán. The coast trends to the south-east, till it reaches Daibal, at the distance of forty farsangs. Between these two cities lies the gulf of Túrán.

* * * * *

After traversing the gulph you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus; then to the Bawárij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Bairah. Their cities are Kach and Súmnát. From Dai-

* M. Reinaud reads Addashtan, and Capt. A. Cunningham identifies it with Pandritan, the local corrupt form of Puránadhisthana, the "old chief city." *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* No. CLXXXVII. p. 97.

† M. Reinaud has Hazinakout. Har Makut, meaning the cap of Har, or Máhá Deo, is a better reading. Perhaps Hemakúta is the correct one. See Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 168.

bal to Tálíshar is 50 farsangs;—from Lahrání, 12;—to Bakah, 12;—to Kach, the country producing gum, and Bádrúd (river Bhader,) 6;—to Súmnát, 14;—to Cambaya, 30;—to Asáwal, 2;—to Bahrúj, 30;—to Sindán,* 50;—to Súfára, 6;—to Tána, 5. There you enter the country of Lárán, where is Saimúr,† then Maleah,—then Kanjí—then Darúd, where there is a great gulph in which is the island of Sarandíp or Sankaldíp. In its neighbourhood is Tanjáwar, which is in ruins, and the king of that country has built another city near the shore, called Díarbas;—then to U'malna;—then to Rameshar, opposite to Sarandíp, from which it is distant 12 farsangs. From Tanjáwar to Rameshar is 40 farsangs;—from Rameshar to Set Bandháí, which means the bridge of the sea, is 2 farsangs—and that Band, or embaukment, was made by Rám, son of Dasrath, as a passage to the fort of Lanká. It consists of detached rocks separated by the sea.

From that place, in an eastern direction, lies Khankand, which is the mountain of monkeys.‡

* * * * * * *

(Here follows an account of these monkeys, of some of the eastern islands, and of the rainy season.)

* * * * *

Múltán§ and Uch are subject to Delhi, and the son of the Súltán of Delhi is the governor. There is a road by land as well as by the shore of the sea and by Guzerát, which is a large country, within which are Cambaya, Súmnát, Kankan, Tána and several other cities and towns. It is said that Guzerát comprises 80,000 different districts, cities, villages, and hamlets. The inhabitants are rich and happy, and during the four seasons no less than seventy flowers blow in this country. The crops which grow in the cold season derive their vigour from the dew. When that dries, the hot season commences, and that is succeeded by the rainy season. Grapes are produced twice during the year, and the strength of the soil is such, that if you were to place a cotton plant on a plane-tree it would throw out its roots, and

* See Gildemeister, *De reb. Ind.* p. 46.

† The original bears more resemblance to Jaimúr, but Saimúr appears to be the place intended. It is noticed by Masáúdí. Ibn Haukal says, it is about 15 parasangs from Sarandíp. Zakariya Cazvíni says, it is an Indian city near Sind, where Moslems, Christians, Jews and Fire-worshippers, reside. Bakouí tells us :—"There is here a temple called Beit Saimúr, on the summit of a hill, in which is an idol made of precious stones. There are also mosques, churches, and fire-temples in this place. The Indians eat neither the animals of the land nor of the sea." *Notices et Extr.* Tom. II. p. 414.

‡ This appears to be the Kanhar of Dr. Lee, and its description as being a mountain of monkeys shows that his conjectures about the estuary of Búzúta is correct. *Ibn Batuta*, p. 187.

§ Rashidu-d-Dín here evidently leaves Abú Rihán, and writes from information obtained independently.

yield produce ten years running.* The people are idolaters, and have a king of their own. Súmnát, which is the name of the idol of that place, is worshipped by all the people of those parts, and strangers come to it from a great distance and present their offerings. During the last stage they move along the ground on their breasts, and approach the idol bowing their heads. There is a great deal of traffic on the shores of Guzerát. Beyond Guzerát are Kankan and Tána; beyond them the country of Malibár, which from the boundary of Karoha to Kulam,† is 300 farsangs in length. The whole country produces the pán, in consequence of which Indians find it easy to live there, for they are ready to spend their whole wealth upon that leaf. There is much coined gold and silver there, which is not exported to any other country. Part of the territory is inland, and part on the sea shore. They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khabálik, in the direction of Róm, whom they resemble in many respects. The people are all Samanis (Buddhists). The first city on the shore is Sindapúr—then Fagnúr—then Manjarúr‡—then the country of Híli—then the country of Tadarsá—then Janglí—then Kúlam. The men of all these countries are Samanis. After these comes the country of Sawálak, which comprises 125,000 cities and villages. After that comes Málwá, which means 1,000,000, and 893,000 villages have actually been counted in it. About forty years ago the king of Málwá died, and between his son and the minister a contest arose, and after several battles they ended with dividing the territory between them. The consequence is that their enemies obtained a footing, and are always making their incursions from different parts of Hind, and carrying off merchandise, crops, and captives.§

* Ibn Batúta uses a similar image to express the fertility of Molúk : “It is an island exceedingly rich in vegetation and soil, so that when you cut a branch from any of its trees, and plant it either on the road or on a wall, it will grow, throw out leaves, and become a tree.” p. 182.

† “We next came into the country of Malabár, which is the country of black pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from the island of Sindábár to Kalam. The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees, and at the distance of every half mile there is a house made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be moslems or infidels.” *Ibn Batuta*, p. 166.

‡ Dr. Lee reads these, Kúkanwar and Manjarún. For Janglí he appears to read Jurhaunan. (*Ibn Batuta*, p. 170.) Manjarúr is the Mangalore of the present day and the Μαγγαρον of Cosmas Indicopleustes. (*Topograph. Chr.* p. 337.) Casiri quotes a manuscript in which it is called Mangalore as early as the beginning of the seventh century. See *Biblioth. Escurial.* Tom. II. p. 6.

§ It is difficult to say what countries are here meant, but it is probable that allusion is made to the Lackadives and Maldives, the names

Maabar, from Kúlam to the country of Siláwar, extends 300 farsangs along the shore. Its length is the same. It possesses many cities and villages, of which little is known. The king is called Dewar,* which means in the Maabar language, the "lord of wealth." Large ships called Junks bring merchandise from Chín and Máchín. The country produces rubies and aromatic grasses, and in the sea are plenty of pearls. Maabar is, as it were, the key of Hind. Within the few last years Sindar Ledí was Dewar, who, with his three brothers, obtained power in different directions, and Malik Takí Ullah bin Abdu-r-rahmán bin Muhammed et-Tíbí, brother of Shaikh Jamálu-d-dín, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of Fatan, Malí Fatan, and Báwal—and because there are no horses in Maabar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamálu-d-dín Ibráhím should send to the Dewar 1400 Arab horses obtained from the island of Kais, and 10,000 horses from all the islands of Fars, such as Katíf, Lahsa, Bahrein, Harmuz, Malkát, &c. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 dínars of red gold current.

* * * * *

In the year 692 H. the Dewar died, and Sheikh Jamálu-d-dín who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 7,000 bullock-loads of jewels and gold, and Takíu-d-dín, according to previous agreement, became his Lieutenant. Notwithstanding his immense wealth, he established a rule that he should have the first option of purchasing all imports, and after he had gratified his own choice he allowed his subjects to purchase, in order that they might export the goods on boats or beasts of burden to the countries of the east and west, whence they might bring back merchandise suitable to Maabar.

The people of the country are very black by reason of their being near the equator. There is a large temple called Lútar.

* * * * *

There are two courses, or roads, from this place ;—one leads to Chín and Máchín. Sarandíp is first met with. It is four farsangs long and four wide.

Sarandíp is at the foot of the southern† mountain, and is called in the language of Hind Sankala-díp, i. e. the sleeping-place of the lion, because its appearance is like a lion in repose,‡ and as that etymology is not known to the common people, they call it Sarandíp. The whole of the country is exactly under the Line. Emeralds and other precious stones are found there.

being derived from numerals, and in both instances bearing a relation to these islands.

* Abú-l-fedá gives it as Birdáwal.

† It is Júdí in the original, not Janúbí. The former can scarcely be meant, the latter may.

‡ Lassen, *Ind: Alterth* : I. 201.

In the forests there are wolves and elephants, and even the Rukh is said to be there. The men are all Buddhists, and bow to, and worship images.

The island of Lámúrí,* which lies beyond it, is very large. It has a separate king.

Beyond it lies the country of Súmátra,† and beyond that Darband Nias,‡ which is a dependency of Jáwa. In Jáwa scented woods grow. In those islands are several cities, of which the chief are Arú, Parlak, Dalmián, Jáwa, and Barcúdoz.§ The mountains of Jáwa are very high. It is the custom of the people to puncture their hands and entire body with needles, and then rub in some black substance to colour it.

Opposite Lámúri is the island of Láhwar,|| which produces plenty of red amber. Men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocoanut leaves. They are all subject to the Kaan.

Passing on from this you come to a continent called Janpa, also subject to the Kaan. The people are red and white.

Beyond that is Haitam, subject also to the Kaan.

* According to the Shajrat Malayu and Marco Polo, Lambri is one of the districts of Súmátra, situated on the north-east coast—converted by the Arabs into Ramry. M. Gildemeister considers it to be the same as Ramual (*Script. Ar. d. re. Ind.*: p. 59). M. Reinand considers it to be Manar (*Fragments*, p. 123); M. Dulaurier gives several reasons why it can be no where else than in Súmátra (*Jour. Asiatique*, 4th Ser. T. VIII. 187, 200). It may be presumed that the Lámúri of our author is the same place as is indicated by Lambri and Ramry. There is at the present day a large island, called Ramry, off the coast of Arracan, but that cannot well be the place indicated.

† This is distinctly called a country (vilayat). It is usually said that mediæval writers called the island of Súmátra by the name of Jáwa, and that Súmátra was one of its towns. Jáwa itself was called Múl Jáwa. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom. IX. pp. 119, 124, 244.

‡ This may be Pulu Nias, which M. M. Maury and Dulaurier, from independent observation, conceive to be the Al-Neyan of the early Geographers. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Ser. Tom. VIII. 200, and *Bulletin de la société de Geog.* April, 1846.

§ These cities, it will be observed, are not confined to one island. Parlak is no doubt Tanjung Parlah, or Diamond Point, on the north-east coast of Súmátra. Barcúdoz, without any violent metathesis, may perhaps be read Bencoolen—the Wau-Kou-Leou of the Chinese. (*Nouv. J. A.* XI. 54.) Towards Papua is a large island called Aru, but that is no doubt too distant for our author. His city may be the metropolis of Java according to Ptolemy—*ἔχειν τε μετρόπολιν ὄνομα Ἀργυρὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσμικοῖς πέρασιν*. *Geog.*: VII. 2. 29.

|| As this might easily be read Nicobar, allusion may be made to the islands of that name. The early Arabian Geographers and Edrisi seem to designate this group by the term Lanjabálús.

Beyond that is Máhá Chín,* then the land of Zaitún,† on the shore of the China sea, and an officer of the Kaan, entitled Shak, resides there. Beyond that is Khinsa, in which the market place is six farsangs broad—from which it may be judged how large the place is. It is subject to the deputies of the Kaan, who are Moghuls, Musulmáns, Khitayans and Ghúz. Khinsa‡ is the capital.

Forty days' journey from it lies Khánbáligh,§ the capital of Anká Múghrib Kaan, King of the earth.||

With respect to the other road which leads from Maabar by way of Khitái, it commences at the city of Cábal, then proceeds to the city of Gosjú and Sabjú, dependencies of Cábal,—then to Tamli Fatan,—then to Karora Mawár,—then to Hawárawín, then to Daklí,—then to Bijakár, which from of old is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the Sultán of Dehli has conquered it, and established himself, having revolted against the Sultán. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of Katban—then Uman,—then Zardlandán,¶ so called because the people have gold in their teeth. They puncture their hands, and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Kaan. Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives. The air is so impure that if they eat their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley.

* Edrisí calls this Siniatu-s-Sín, situated at the extremity of the empire. “No city is equal to it, whether we consider its greatness, the number of the edifices, the importance of its commerce, the variety of its merchandize, or the number of merchants which visit it from different parts of India.” Ibn al Wárid says, “It is the extreme eastern part which is inhabited, and beyond which there is nothing but the ocean.”

† A port in the province of Fo-Kein. See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 561. M. Klaproth, *Mem. rel. à l'Asie*. Tom : II. p. 208, and M. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, Tom : II. pp. 25, 26.

‡ The original is Jangsuí in both places, but there can be no doubt the correct word is Khinsa, which Ibn Batuta declares to be the largest city he had seen. Marco Polo calls it Quinsai, and says it is without exception the most noble city in the world. It was the capital of southern China, or Máhá Chín. Its present name is Haug-teheou-fou, capital of the province of Tehe-Kiang. See M. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, Tom. I. pp. cx, cxviii. and M. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, pp. LXXVII. LXXXIX.

§ The Cambalu of Marco Polo, and the Pekin of the Chinese. See Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* Tom. III. p. 2. p. 512.

|| See *Les Oisyaux et les Fleurs*, pp. 119, 220. Dabistán, v. III. p. 250.

¶ This country is again noticed in our author's account of China, and Marco Polo speaks of it under the wrong name, Cardandon. M. Quatremère tries to fix its position. *Hist. des Mongols*, p. xcvi.

There is another country called Deogir, adjoining Maabar inland, the king of which is at constant enmity with the Dewar of Maabar. Its capital is Dwára Samudra.

Another large country is called Candahár, which the Moghuls call Karájáng. In the time of Kubilá Kaan,* it was subdued by the Moghuls. One of its borders adjoins Tibet, another adjoins Khitá, and another adjoins Hind.

Philosophers have said that there are three countries celebrated for certain peculiarities; Hind is celebrated for its armies, Candahár for its elephants, and the Turks for their wealth in horses.

The Volume from which these extracts are taken opens with these words:—

سپاس و ستایش خدای را جل جلاله و تقدست اسماء که
موصوف است ذات اوبیقا و قدم و منزّه است صفات او از
نقص حدوث و عدم موحد خانه که سقف و عرش ان افلاک
است و مانع ایوانی که فرش آن بساط خاک انخدوندی
که نیست و هست و پُشت و پست ایجاد وضع قدرت اوست

and closes thus:—

انچه در بطلان مذهب اهل تناسخ در خاطر آمد بسبب حکایت
که درو ایراد افتاده مطول کشته است هر چند هیچ یک از فوائد
و عواید خالی نیست انشاء الله پسندیده حق تعالی باشد
و بینندگان بر زل و سهو و خلل و خطا که رفته عفو و مغفرت
کرامت کنند بمن الله واسعه جوده و کرمه

* This is also mentioned in the Mongul work called Bodimer. See Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, T. I. p. 19.

The country of Karájáng and its borders are again noticed by our author in his account of China, and its position is laid down by M. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, p. xciv.

At p. 40 this name, differently accented, is ascribed to the Sind, in conformity with the original; but from this passage it is evident that Candahár, not the Sind, was called Karájáng.

NOTE A.

India, as known to the Arabs during the first four Centuries of the Hijrî Era.

The first extracts are taken from the *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, translated from the Arabic by M. Renaudot, A. D. 1718. The Jesuits endeavoured to throw discredit upon this work, and declared that it was a fiction of the translator. This assertion gained considerable credit, when it was ascertained that the original manuscript, from which M. Renaudot was said to have translated his work, was nowhere to be found. It was at last fortunately discovered by M. de Guignes, who has bestowed an article upon it in the *Notices et Extracts*, Tom. I. 156—161. See also *Mém.: de l'Acad.: des Inscriptions*, Tom. XXXVII. 477.

An edition of the Arabic and a new French translation was given by M. Langlès in the beginning of the present century, but his translation is little known. In 1845, M. Reinaud published the Arabic text of M. Langlès, with a new translation and valuable notes. He tells us that the first part of the work comprises the statement of a voyager named Sulaimán, whose “relations” were taken down A. D. 851, and that the second part was completed

towards the close of the century by Abú Zaid, of Siráf, from verbal information and from reading, and that he had communication with Mas'údí, whom M. Quatremère at one time considered to be the Editor of these Relations. (See *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXXIII. p. 234 ; *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series, Tom. VIII. p. 161, and M. Reinaud, *Discours préliminaire*, pp. II.---XXVIII.)

Some particulars relating to the Indies and to the kings of the same countries.

Both the Indians and Chinese agree, that there are four great or principal kings in the world ; they allow the king of the Arabs to be the first, and to be, without dispute, the most powerful of kings, the most wealthy, and the most excellent every way ; because he is the prince and head of a great religion, and because no other surpasses him in greatness or power.

The emperor of China reckons himself next after the king of the Arabs, and after him the king of the Greeks ; and lastly, the Balhara.

* * * *

He is surrounded by the dominions of many kings, who are at war with him, and yet he never marches against them. One of these is king of Haraz, who has very numerous forces, and is stronger in horse than all the other princes of the Indies, but is an enemy to the Arabs, though he at the same time confesses their king to be the greatest of kings ; nor is there a prince in the Indies who has a greater aversion to Muhammedanism. His dominions are upon a promontory, where are much riches, many camels, and other cattle. The inhabitants here traffic with silver they wash for ; and they say there are mines of the same on the continent. There is no talk of robbers in this country, no more than in the rest of the Indies.

On one side of this kingdom lies that of Tafek, which is not of very great extent ; this king has the finest white women in all the Indies ; but he is subject to the kings about him, his army being but small. He has a great affection for the Arabs, as well as the Balhara.

These kingdoms border upon the lands of a king called Rahmi, who is at war with the king of Haraz, and with the Balhara also. This prince is not much considered either for his birth or the antiquity of his kingdom ; but his forces are more numerous than those of the Balhara and even than those of the kings of

Haraz and Tafek. They say that when he takes the field, he appears at the head of fifty thousand elephants; and that he commonly marches in the winter season, because the elephants not being able to bear with thirst, he can move at no other time. They say also that in his army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand tents. In this same country they make cotton garments, in so extraordinary a manner, that no where else are like to be seen. These garments are for the most part round, and wove to that degree of fineness, that they may be drawn through a ring of a middling size.

Shells are current in this country, and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver, wood-aloes and sable-skins of which they make the furniture of saddles and housings. In this same country is the famous Karkandan or unicorn, which has but one horn upon its forehead, and thereon a round spot with the representation of a man. The whole horn is black, except the spot in the middle, which is white. The unicorn is much smaller than the elephant; from the neck downwards he pretty much resembles the buffalo; for strength he is extraordinary, therein surpassing all other creatures; his hoof is not cloven, and from his foot to his shoulder he is all of a piece. The elephant flies from the unicorn, whose lowing is like that of an ox, with something of the cry of a camel. His flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it. There are great numbers of this creature in the fens of this kingdom, as also in all the other provinces of the Indies; but the horns of these are the most esteemed, and upon them are generally seen the figures of men, peacocks, fishes and other resemblances. The Chinese adorn their girdles with these sorts of figures; so that some of these girdles are worth two or three thousand pieces of gold in China, and sometimes more, the price augmenting with the beauty of the figure. All the things we have here enumerated, are to be purchased in the kingdom of Rahmi for shells, which are the current money.

After this kingdom there is another which is an inland state, distant from the coast, and called Kaschbin. The inhabitants are white, and bore their ears: they have camels, and their country is a desert, and full of mountains.

Farther on, upon the coast, there is a small kingdom called Hitrange, which is very poor; but it has a bay, where the sea throws up great lumps of ambergris. They have also elephants' teeth and pepper; but the inhabitants eat it green, because of the smallness of the quantity they gather.

* * * * *

The island of Sarandip is the last of the islands of the Indies. When they burn a king it is usual for his wives to jump into the fire, and to burn with him, but this they are not constrained to do if they are not willing.

In the Indies there are men who profess to live in the woods and mountains, and to despise what other men most value. These abstain from every thing but such wild herbs and fruits as spring forth in the woods. I formerly saw one in the posture I have described, and returning to the Indies about sixteen years afterwards, I found him in the very same attitude, and was astonished he had not lost his eyesight by the heat of the sun.

In all these kingdoms the sovereign power resides in the royal family, and never departs from it; and those of this family succeed each other. In like manner there are families of learned men, of physicians, and of all the artificers concerned in architecture, and none of these ever mix with a family of a profession different from their own.

The several states of the Indies are not subject to one and the same king, but each province has its own king; nevertheless the Balhara is, in the Indies, as king of kings.

* * * * *

We will now begin to speak of the province of Zapage, which is opposite to China, and a month's sail distant therefrom by sea, or less, if the wind be fair. The king of this country is called Mehraje, and they say it is nine hundred leagues in circumference, and that this king is master of many islands which lie round about; thus this kingdom is above a thousand leagues in extent. Among these islands there is one called Serbeza, which is said to be four hundred leagues in circuit, and that also of Rahmi, which is eight hundred leagues in compass, and produces red-wood, camphire, and many other commodities. The Mehraje is sovereign over all these islands, and that which he makes his abode is extremely fertile, and so very populous that the towns almost crowd one upon the other. A person of great probity relates, that when the cocks here crow at their accustomed hours, just as with us, at roost upon trees, they answer each other a hundred leagues around and more, because of the proximity of the villages which almost touch each other.

Next in order is Ibn Khordádbch, who died about A. D. 912, and from whose work the following extract is translated. M. M. Uyl-enbroeck, Hamaker, and Wüstenfeld consider that Ibn Khordádbch, is the real author of the "Oriental Geography," translated by Sir W. Ouseley, and ascribed by him to

Ibn Haukal, but the extract given below does not correspond with the "Oriental Geography." M. Uylenbroeck has also entered into a long argument to prove that Ibn Khordádbeh is the same as Abú-l-Kásim Istakhri, who composed his work between A. D. 900 and 925. But this opinion is by no means concurred in by M. M. Frähn and Gildemeister. It is probable that this doubtful point has been finally set at rest by the Editor of Istakhri's work, which has lately been translated by Dr. Mordtmann, as well as edited in original by Dr. Möller, neither of which I have had an opportunity of seeing. M. Gildemeister considers there can be no question that Istakhri was the author of the work translated by Ouseley, but denies his identity with Ibn Khordádbeh. (Compare De Sacy, *Magas: Encyclopéd: Tom. VI.* Wüstenfeld, *Abulfeda, Tab: Geogr.* p. 75. Uylenbroeck, *Iraca Persica Descr:* pp. 9, 57—63, 72. Frähn, *Ibn Foszlán ueber die Russen*, pp. xxii. 257. Gildemeister, *Script: Arab. de reb: Indic:* pp. 76, 124. *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenländ: Ges: für 1846*, p. 78. Nicoll and Pusey, *Bibliothe: Bodl: Codd: MSS. Or: Catal:* p. 534.)

The kings and people of Hind regard fornication as lawful and wine as unlawful. This opinion prevails throughout Hind, except at Kamár, the inhabitants of which hold both fornication and the use of wine as unlawful. The people of Sarandíp convey wine from Irák for consumption in their own country.

The kings of Hind take great delight in having elephants of lofty stature, and pay largely for them in gold. The elephants are, generally, about 9 cubits high, except those of Atab, which are 10 and 11 cubits.

The greatest king of India is Balhará, whose name imports "king of kings." He wears a ring in which is inscribed the following sentence : "Whoever values you merely for your good offices, remains no longer your friend when his wishes are gratified."

The next eminent king is he of Taffa ; the third is king of Jábbá ; the fourth, that of Hazar ; the coins of Tartary are in use in his dominions. The fifth is king of Abba ; the sixth, that of Rahmi, and between him and the other kings, a communication is kept up by sea. It is stated that he has in his possession five thousand elephants ; that his apparel is of manufactured cotton cloths ; and that his country produces an odoriferous wood called "Aggar." The seventh is the king of Kamrún, which is contiguous to China. There is plenty of gold in this country.

There is a road through the city of Karkúz, leading to the eastern countries from Persia.

The island of Khárák lies fifty parasangs from Ibla, and has cultivated lands, trees, and vines. The island of Lábin is at the distance of eighty parasangs from that of Khárák, and has cultivated lands and trees. This parasang is equal to two parasangs of the usual measure. From Lábin to the island of Abrún are seven parasangs ; it has trees and cultivated fields ; and from Abrún to the island of Chín, are seven parasangs, equal to one half of the usual measure. This island is uninhabited. From Chín to the island of Kasír are seven parasangs, equal to four common parasangs. In this island are cultivated lands, trees and the like, and the inhabitants dive for pearls, which are here of excellent quality. From Kasír to Abarkáwán are eighteen parasangs, equal to three of the usual measure. The inhabitants are of a fair complexion. From Abarkáwán to Armún are seven parasangs. From Armún to Nármasaira is seven days' journey, and the latter lies between Persia and Sind. From Nármasaira to Daibal is eight days' journey, and from Daibal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the sea is two parasangs.

From Sind are brought the costus, canes, and bamboos. From the Mihrán to Bagar, which is reckoned the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey. The country abounds with canes in the hilly tracts, but in the plains there are cultivated fields. The people are Buddhists and robbers. From this place to Almez are two parasangs, where also robbers are to be met with. From Almez to Cole* are two parasangs, and from

* This is the first indication we have of the Coles in this neighbourhood ; if we except the Κωλις of Dionysius (*Perieg.* : 1148) which must be looked for in another direction. The *Geographia Nubiensis* also notices this place :—"Ab hac ad insulam Mond sex millia passuum : et ab hac ad Coli passus totidem : et a Coli, secus littus, ad urbem Labár, quinqué fere stationes." p. 60.

Cole to Sindán are eighteen parasangs. In the latter grow the ebony and canes. From Sindán to Mallay, is five days' journey; in the latter black pepper is to be found, also the bamboo. From Mallay to Balbun, is two days' journey, and from Balbun to Lujja Azúna, is two days' journey. There are routes by sea from Balbun. If you sail close to the shore it takes you two days to reach Bás, which is a large place where you can take passage to Sarandip. From Bás to Saji and Uscán, is two days' journey, in which latter place rice is cultivated. From Uscán to Kaura is half a parasang, which is more than three of the usual size. From Kaura to Kancán, Malwa and Kanja, is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated, and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kamúl and other neighbouring places by the sea route in fifteen days. From Samunder to Urisser are twelve parasangs; this is a great country, where are elephants, buffaloes, and other cattle and various merchantable commodities. This place is held in much renown. From Urisser to Ainá is four days' journey, where elephants and asses are met with.

[After this follows the description of Pic d' Adam. In another place the author continues his account of India in these words:—]

There are seven classes of Hindús, viz., 1st, Sábkufría, among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes do the men of this class homage, and them only. 2nd, Brahma, who totally abstain from wine, also from the juice of the date and palm tree. 3rd, Kattaría, who drink not more than three cups of wine, and the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahma take their daughters. 4th, Súdúríá, who are by profession husbandmen. The 5th, Báisuráh, are artificers and domestics. The 6th, Sandália, who perform menial offices. 7th, Lahúd, their women are fond of adorning themselves with gaudy apparel, and jewellery, and their men are noted for their unbounded love of amusements and all sorts of diversions.* In Hind there are forty-two religious

* None of the early Arabian Geographers notice this division into tribes. The Grecian Authors, on the authority of Megasthenes, divide the tribes into seven, and attribute the following offices to them, which are very different from those assigned by Ibn Khordábeh.

	<i>Strabo.</i>	<i>Diodorus.</i>	<i>Arrian.</i>
1st Class.	Philosophers	Philosophers	Sophists
2nd „	Husbandmen	Husbandmen	Husbandmen
3rd „	Shepherds and hunters	Cowherds and shepherds	Cowherds and shepherds
4th „	Artificers and merchants	Artificers	Artificers, merchants and boatmen
5th „	Warriors	Warriors	Warriors
6th „	Inspectors	Inspectors	Inspectors
7th „	Counsellors and assessors	Counsellors and assessors	Assessors

sects ;* part of them believe in a creator and prophet—the blessing of God be upon them ! ; part deny the mission of a prophet, and part are atheists.

We will now quote the famous Mas'údí, who visited India, Ceylon, and the coast of China, in A. H. 303. The following extracts are from his work entitled, “ Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems,” of which the first part has been well translated by Dr. A. Sprenger. He was an acute observer, and deservedly continues one of the most admired writers in the Arabic language. His travels extended over nearly all the countries subject to Muhammedan sway. He says of himself that he travelled so far to the West (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the East, and so far to the West (China) that he forgot the West. He died A. D. 956.

India is a vast country, having many seas and mountains, and borders on the empire of ez-Zániġ, which is the kingdom of the Maharáj, the King of the islands, whose dominions form the frontier between India and China, and are considered as part of India.

The Hindú nation extends from the mountains of Khorasán and of es-Siud as far as et-Tubbet. But there prevails a great difference of feelings, language, and religion, in these empires ; and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe on the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindús are distinct from other black nations, as the Zanj ed-Demádem and others, in point of intellect, govern-

(Vid. *Strab. Geogr.* lib : xv. 703—707. *Arrian : Indica* 11. 12. *Diodor : Sic.* lib : 11. 40, 41. and *Megasthenis Fragmenta.* E. A. Schwanbeck, pp. 42, 121—127.)

It is not easy to identify the names given by Ibn Khordadbeh. The 1st is unintelligible—the 2nd is evident—the 3rd seems to indicate the Khattris—the 4th the Súdras—the 5th the Vaisava—the 6th the Chhandals—the 7th the Bázigars and itinerant jugglers.

* This is the number ascribed by the indignant Frenchman to England—“ Forty-two religions ! and only one sauce ! ! ”

ment, philosophy, colour, appearance, good constitution, talent, and intelligence.

* * * *

No king can succeed to the throne, according to Hindú laws, before he is forty years of age, nor appears their sovereign ever before the public, except at certain times, which are fixed at long intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs; for, in their opinion, the kings lose their respect and give away their privileges if the public gazes at them. The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank.

* * * *

The royalty is limited upon the descendants of one family, and never goes to another. The same is the case with the families of the Vazier, Kadhí, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary and) never changed nor altered.

The Hindús abstain from (spirituous) liquors, not in obedience to some religious precept, but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and makes cease the dominion which this faculty is to exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if he is given to such habits.

* * * *

El-Jáhit supposes that the river Mihrán in es-Sind is the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how this proof can be conclusive. This he states in his book "On the leading cities and the wonders of the countries." It is an excellent work, but as he has never made a voyage and few journeys and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Mihrán of es-Sind comes from the well-known sources of the highland of es-Sind, from the country belonging to Kinnauj, in the kingdom of Búdah, and of Káshmir el-Kandahár, and et-Takín; the tributaries which rise in these countries run to el-Múltán and from thence the united river receives the name Mihrán. El-Múltán means meadows of gold. The king of el-Múltán is a Koraishite, and of the children of Osámah Ben Lawi Ben Ghalib. His dominion extends as far as the frontier of Khorasán. The lord of the kingdom of el-Mansúrah is a Koraishite, who is descended from Habbár Ben el-Aswad, who has been one of their kings. The crown of el-Múltán has been hereditary, in the family which rules at present, since ancient times, and nearly from the beginning of the Islám.

From el-Múltán the river Mihrán takes its course to the country of el-Mansúrah, and falls about ed-Daiból into the Indian ocean. In this sea are many crocodiles, for it has several estuaries and gulfs, as the estuary of Sindabúr in the kingdom of Bághar, in India; the estuary of ez-Zanj in the dominions of

the Maharáj, and the gulfs of el-A'náb (grapes,) which extend towards the island Serendíb (Ceylon). The crocodiles live particularly in sweet water, and, as we said, in the estuaries of India, the water of which is for the most part sweet, on account of the streams which arise from rain and fall in them.

* * * * *

The king of India is the Ballahrá; the king of Kinnauj, who is one of the kings of es-Sind is Búdah; this is a title general to all kings of el-Kinnauj; at present this city is under the sceptre of the Islám, for it forms a province of el-Múltán. Through this town passes one of the (five) rivers, which form together the river Mihrán in es-Sind, which is considered by el-Jáhit as the Nile, and by others as the Jaihún of Khorásán. This Búdah, who is the king of el-Kinnauj, is an enemy of the Ballahrá, the king of India. The king of el-Kandahár, who is one of the kings of es-Sind ruling over this country, is called Jalaj; this name is common to all sovereigns of that country. From his dominions comes the river Rayíd, one of the five rivers which form the Mihrán of es-Sind. Kandahár is called the country of the Rahbút (Rajbut); another river of the Panjáb is called Hátíl, it comes also from the mountains of es-Sind, and runs through the country of er-Rahbút, which is the country of el-Kandahár: the fourth river of the Panjáb comes from the country of Kábúl, and its mountains, which forms the frontier of es-Sind towards Bost, Ghaznah, Nafsh, (?) er-Rokh-khaj, and the country of er-Rawan, which is the frontier of Sijistán. One of the five rivers comes from the country of Kashmír. The king of Kashmír has the name of er-Ráma, which is a general title for all kings.

*

When all the rivers which we have enumerated have passed the golden temple, which is the meaning of the name of el-Múltán, they unite at about three days' journey below this city and above el-Mansúrah, at a place called Dúsháb, into one stream, which proceeds to the town of er-Rúd, which lies on its western bank and belongs to el-Mansúrah, where it receives the name Mihrán. There it is divided into two branches, both of which fall at the town of Shákirah, which belongs also to one of the districts of el-Mansúrah, into the Indian sea, under the name of Mihrán of es-Sind, about two days' journey from the town of ed-Daibol.

El-Múltán is seventy-five Sindian farsangs from el-Mansúrah. Each farsang has eight miles, as stated above. All the estates and villages under the dependency of el-Mansúrah amount to three hundred thousand. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. They are at constant war with a nation called the Mind, who are a race of the Sind, and with other nations on the frontiers of es-Sind. El-Múltán is equally on the frontier of es-Sind, and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. El-Mansúrah has its name from Mansúr

Ben Jambúr, governor of the Omaiyyides. The king of el-Man-sírah has eighty war elephants, every one of which is supported by five hundred infantry in battle, as we have already remarked ; and these elephants can oppose thousands of horses.

* * * * *

Let us now resume our short account of the kings of es-Sind and India. The language of es-Sind is different from that of India. Es-Sind is the country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslems, and India that which is farther from them. The inhabitants of el-Mánkir, which is the residence of the Ballahrá, speak the Kiriya language, which has this name from the places where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saimúr (?) Súbarah, Tánah, and other towns on the coast of the Ládiwá sea, a language is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries ; and this is the Ládiwá sea, which has been described above. On this coast are many rivers, which run from the south, whilst all other rivers of the world flow from north to south, excepting the Nile, of Egypt, and the Mihrán, of es-Sind.

* * * * *

Next to the country of Ballahrá is the kingdom of et-Tákin.

The king is on friendly terms with the neighbouring sovereigns and with the Moslems ; his military forces are less considerable than those of the kings whom we have named. Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahmá, which is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time their name. His dominions border on those of the king of the Khazars ; and, on one side, on those of el-Ballahrá, with whom he is frequently at war. Rahmá has more troops, elephants, and horses, than the Ballahrá, the king of el-Khazar and of et-Tákin. When he takes the field, he has no less than five thousand elephants. He never goes to war but in winter, because the elephants cannot bear thirst. His forces are generally exaggerated ; some believe that the number of fullers and washers in his camp, is from ten to fifteen thousand.

The following extract is from the " Oriental Geography," translated by Sir W. Ouseley, the author of which, though proved to be neither Ibn Khordádbeh, nor Ibn Haukal, is generally acknowledged to have written at the early part of the 10th Century of the Christian Era, and is now by almost common consent considered to be Istakhrí.

Besmeid is a small town. Besmeid, and Moultau, and Chendvar, are situated on the eastern side of the river of Moultau, each at the distance of one farsang from the bank of the river. The water used in these towns is well water.

Daubul is situated on the eastern side of the river Mihran, on the sea coast; it is the port of this country. In the cultivation of their lands, the inhabitants do not use water. It is a barren place; but people dwell there for the convenience of transacting mercantile business.

Bileroun is a town between Daubul and Mansourch, on the west of the river Mihran; and Beherje, and Mesouai, and Sedousan, and Hedlech, are situated on the western side of the river Mihran. Andi and Daloui are both on the eastern side of it, at a distance from the river, in going from Mansourch to Moultau.

Baloui is situated on the banks of the river Mihran, near a bay, formed by that river behind Mansourch. Famhel is a town on the first borders of Hindoostan.

Manah is a small town, built by Abdalaziz Hebareh, the ancestor of that race which took Mansourah.

Nedeheh is a tract of flat land between Touran, and Mekran, and Moultau, and the towns of Mansourch. This territory lies on the west of the river Mihran. It is a place remarkable for camels. The chief town of this district is a place of much commerce; it is called Kandabil. The men of this town resemble those of the desert; they have houses constructed of reeds, along the banks of the river Mihran, as far as the borders of Moultau, and to the sea side; and between Mihran and Famhel they have pasture lands and meadows. They are a numerous tribe. Famhel, and Sedousan, and Meimoun, and Keviabeh; all four have mosques, in which the religious ceremonies of Islam are publicly performed: there are great quantities of the Indian wall-nut, and of the fruit called Mouz, with various kinds of herbs, and much honey.

Rahouk and Kelwan are two districts between Armaiel and Kair; both these are without water; they abound in cattle.

Touran is a little district, with many small villages and hamlets belonging to it. Ahmed ben Maamr possesses them, and the Khutbah is read in the Khalif's name. The town in which he resides is a considerable place, well supplied with provisions, and abounding in fruits; it is never subject to cold weather. Between Maniah and Fambel there is a desert: also between Fambel and Keniabah.

Tasimoun is a populous district, in which the Mussulmans and Indians are intermixed. In this place the only garment they wear is the azar, or sash round the middle, as the heat renders all others unnecessary: it is also the custom at Moultau. In

the province of Makran they speak the Persian and Makrani languages. The merchants wear the cloak and turban.

Makran is an extensive country, but liable to scarcity and want of provisions. Hosein ben Isa ben Maadan took possession of the district called Mihra, and dwelt in the town of Kair, which is as large as Moultan, and a good harbour; it has many date trees; in the territory of it is a well called the "well of Makran." It is the largest town in Makran.

There is a district called Kherouje, the capital of which is Rasek, and there is a village belonging to it called Herman; these places belong to Zéfer ben Reja, and the Khutbah is read in the name of the Khalif. His territory extends near three merhileh; it affords some hundred of date trees and furnishes Faneid (a kind of sweet paste or candied cakes), to all quarters; its villages border on those of the province of Kirman, at the place called Meskeni.

Resasil and Kanteli are two large towns within two menzils: from Resasil to the sea is half a farsang.

Kandabil is a considerable city situated in the desert. Kirkan is another large town in the desert.

In the district of Azend the Mussulmans and infidels are all intermixed. Here they have cattle and gardens. The name of a man who took this place was Naiel (or Nabal), and it is called after him.

Distances of places in Sind.

From Bein to Kebr, five merhileh; from Kebr to Fetrioun, two merhileh; and if one goes from the road of Fetrioun, by the road of Makran, it is the same distance; from Fetrioun to Derek, three merhileh; from that to Asofka, two merhileh; from that to Med, one merhileh; from Med to Kesr, one merhileh; from Kebr to Armaiel, six merhileh; from Mansoureh to Touran, fifteen merhileh; from Kesdan to Moultan, twenty merhileh. Kesdan is the chief town of Touran. From Mansoureh to the borders of Nedeheh, five merhileh; and from Kebr, which is the residence of Isa ben Maadan, to Nedeheh, ten merhileh; from Nedeheh to Bein, fifteen merhileh; from Bein to Kesdan, twelve merhileh; from Nedeheh of Moultan, to the extremity of the borders of Tetar, which they call Bales, ten merhileh; and when one goes from Mansoureh towards Nedeheh, to Sedousan, the way is by the bank of the river Mihran. From Kandabil to Mesbah, in the territory of Bein, four merhileh; from Kesdan to Kandabil, five farsang; from Kandabil to Mansoureh, about eight merhileh; and from Kandabil to Moultan, ten merhileh of desert; from Mansoureh to Famhel, twenty merhileh; from Famhel to Keniabah four merhileh.

Sourbah is near the sea; from Suidan to Sourbah, is five merhileh; from Moultan to Besmeid, two merhileh; from Besmeid

to Rud (or the river), three merhileh; from that to Aberi, four merhileh; from Aberi to Feldi, four merhileh; from Feldi to Mansoureh, one merhileh; from Daubul to Pirouz, four merhileh; from Pirouz to Melaberi, two merhileh; from Faloni to Beldon, four farsang.

Of the Rivers in this country.

Of the Mihran it is said that the source is the river Jihoun; it comes out at Moultan, and passes on to the borders of Besmeid, and by Mansourah, and falls into the sea on the east of Daubul. The waters of the river Mihran are pleasant and wholesome; and they say it is liable to tides, or flux and reflux, like the Nile, and that it is infested by crocodiles. The Sind Rud, at three merhileh from Moultan, is of pleasant water, and joins the river Mihran. Water is very scarce throughout the land of Makran; there is some near Mansoureh. Many of the inhabitants of Makran resemble the Arabs; they eat fowl and fish: others of them are like the Curds. Here is the extreme boundary of the land of Islam in this direction.

In one of the Royal Libraries of Lucnow there is a very old Arabic manuscript, written A. H. 589, and entitled "Ashkálu-l-Bilád," containing maps and a geographical description of several countries. It is not quite perfect. On comparing this work with Ibn Haukal, I find it almost verbatim the same, so much so, as to leave no doubt that it is a copy of Ibn Haukal's work under an unusual name. As there are only two copies in Europe, one of which is very bad, this MS. is of considerable value. The following extract is translated from the Ashkálu-l-Bilád, followed by a passage from Ibn Haukal, in the part where the Lucnow manuscript was deficient, or which probably the transcriber neglected to copy.

Ibn Haukal wrote his work about A. D. 977. A. H. 367, and is the last author on Geography whom we have to consider. (Vid. Uylenbroek,

Descr. Irac. Pers. p. 57. Uri, *Bodl. Codd. MSS. Cat.* p. 209.)

From the sea to Tibet is four months' journey, and from the sea of Fars to the country of Canauj is three months' journey.

* * * * *

I have placed the country of Sind and its dependencies in one map, which exhibits the entire country of Sind, part of Hind, and Túrán, and Bodh.* On the entire east of this tract there lies the sea of Fars, and on the west, Kirmán and the desert of Sejestán, and the countries subject to it. To the north are the countries of Hind, and to the south is the desert lying between Mekrán and Kufs, beyond which is the sea of Fars. This sea is to the east of the above-mentioned territories, and to the south of the said desert, and extending from Saimúr on the east to Taiz of Mekrán, it encircles Kirmán and Fars like a bow.

The chief cities of this tract are the following: In Mekrán,—Taiz,† Kabar, Kabryún, Darak, Rasil, the city of schismatics,

* Gildemeister, in his edition of Ibn Haukal, reads this *Bodha*, (p. 163); so does Abulfeda (p. 261), Ouseley, in his *Oriental Geography*, reads it *Nedeheh* (p. 146.) The question will be considered in a subsequent note.

† As these names differ in Ibn Haukal and other authors, it may be as well to subjoin the different passages for comparison.

Ibn Haukal says:—"In Mekran there are Taiz, Kannazbúr, Darek, Rasek, Neh, Kasfand. Adhafa, Tahalfahara, Mashka, Kambala, Armáil. In Thurán, Magak, Kigkánán, Shura, Kazdar. In Bodha, Kandábil. In Sind Mansúra, Daibal, Birún, Valará, Ayará, Bulrá, Masváhi, Fahrag, Bania, Manhatara, Sadústán, Rúz, Gandarúz. In Hind, Kumuhul, Kambaya, Súbara, Asavil, Hanavil, Sindan, Saimur, Báni Battan, Gandaruz, Sandaruz. (*De rebus Indicis*, p. 164.)

Ouseley gives them thus: Alis, Kusr, Ferimosin, Derek, Rasek, Kesrbund, Kelaahereck, Meski, Meil, Armaicl, Mehali, Kibrkaman, Soreh, Kandabil, Mansourah, or Sindiah, Daubal, Meroui, Manoui, Airi, Baloni, Mesonahi, Beherje, Maseli, Meshari, Sedusan. (*Oriental Geography*, p. 147.)

The Nubian Geographer gives a more copious list, of which some can be identified with those above given:—Kia Kir, Ermail, Band, Casr-band, Lizabar, Haur, Cámbele, Manhábere, Dábil, Nirun, Fairuza, Mansúra, Kandan, Asfaca, Daree, Masurgian, Fardan, Kircaian, Cadera, Basma, Tuberan, Moltan, Giandur, Sandur, Dur, Atré, Cálere, Báseera, Mesuam, Sadusan, Bania, Mánehah, Kambaia, Subára, Saúdán, Saimur, Fahalfahera, Rasce, Sarusan, Kusa, Kased, Sura, Nodha, Mehyaé, Falon, Caliron and Belin. (*Geographia Nubiensis*, pp. 56, 57.)

M. Jaubert, in his translation of Edrisí, gives the names as Kia, Kir, Ermail, Casri-bundi, Firabouz, Khour, Canbely, Menhabery, Dibal, Niroun, Mansouria, Wandan, Asfaca, Darek, Masourdjan, Fardan, Kirkaian, Cadira, Besmek, Toubcran, Moulton, Djoudour, Sandour, Dour, Atry, Calery, Nira, Masouam, Charonsan, Bania, Mamehel, Kanbain, Sonbara, Sebzan and Seimour. (*Géographie d'Edrisi*, Tom. I. p. 160.)

Beh, Nand, Kasirkand, Asfaka, Fahalfahara, Muslí, Kuslí, Armáil. In Turán,—Maháli, Kaníkánán, Saurá and Kasdár. In Bodhá,—Kandábil. In Sind,—Mansúra, which, in the Sind language, is called Bámiwán, Daibal, Nirun,* Fálid, Ibrí, Ayarí Balzi, Misráhí, Harúj, Báruá, Manjábarí, Sadúsán, Dúr. In Hind,—Famhal, Cambáya, Sanbárah, Sabdán, Saimúr, Maleán,† Hadarpoor, and Basmat.

The country from Cambáya to Saimúr belongs to Balhara, one of the kings of Hind.‡ The inhabitants are infidels, although the places are of Muhammedan origin, as their kings before Balhara were Muhammedans.§ There are many mosques to be met with in these places, where Muhammedans assemble to pray.

The city in which Balhara resides is Mangir,|| which has an extensive territory attached to it.

Mansúra is a mile long and a mile broad, surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán. It is like an island, and the inhabitants are Musulmán. The king of the country is one of the tribe of Korcish, named Ladbah, the son of Hobád, the son of Aswad.—Ladbah and his predecessors, who were of the same family, held possession of this island, and maintain it to this day, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalifa. The climate is hot, and the date tree grows here; but there is neither grape, nor apple, nor walnut, nor guava in it. There is a species of cane to be met with, producing sugar. The land also produces a fruit of the size of the apple. It is called Lemún, and is exceedingly acid. The place also yields a fruit called Ambaj (mangoe) resembling the peach in appearance and flavour. It is plentiful and cheap. Prices are low and there is an abundance of food.

The current coin of the country is stamped at Candahár; one of the pieces is equivalent to five Dirhems. The Tatar¶ coin

* In the Ashkálu-l-Bilád this is plainly either Bírún, or Nirún, as suggested by M. Gildemeister. The original text which he has given of Ibn Haukal has no resemblance to either name.

† M. Gildemeister suggests that this may be Panípat, as he reads it in the original as Bani Battan.

‡ The printed text here adds, "to whom the Book of Fables is dedicated." There is no mention of this in the Ashkálu-l-Bilád.

§ This is a very different statement from the printed text, which says that the Muhammedans had a prefect of their own persuasion, and that the author had observed the same practice in several other cities of which the Rulers were Infidels. The curious statement here made gives some colour to Tod's assertion about the Muhammedan king of Cambay in the time of Bappa (*Annals of Raj.* i. 247) which M. Gildemeister (p. 31) has declared to be "prorsus futile."

|| There is nothing like this in the printed text, but the assertion corresponds with the statement of Mas'údí, (*Meadows of Gold*, pp. 175, 193, and 383.)

¶ Remusat and Mas'údí have the same. It is difficult to say what is meant by the expression.

also is current, each being in amount equal to a Dirhem and a half. They likewise use Dínárs. The dress of the people of the place is the same as that worn by the inhabitants of Irák, except that the dress of the sovereigns of the country resembles in the shirt and tunic that worn by the kings of Hind.

Múltán is about half the size of Mausúra, and is called "the boundary* of the house of gold." There is an idol in the place held in great veneration by the Hindús, and people from distant parts undertake a yearly pilgrimage to its temple and there expend vast sums of money. Many take up their residence at the shrine to lead there a life of devotion.

Múltán derives its name from this idol. The temple is situated on an elevation in a populous part of the city, in the midst of a bazar, near which mechanics and the dealers in ivory pursue their trade. The idol is placed immediately in the centre of the temple, around which the priests and the pilgrims take up their residence, and no other man in Múltán, either of Hind or Sind, is allowed to remain in the temple except the ministrants above mentioned.

The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture, on a pedestal made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like Morocco leather, but its eyes are open. Some say that the body of the idol is made of wood; some deny this; but it is not possible to ascertain this point with certainty, by reason of the skin which covers the body. The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers closed,† so that only four can be counted. The eyes of the idol are of some precious gem, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amír of Múltán, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple. As often as the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, they bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon which the assailants return, otherwise they would destroy Múltán.

There is a strong fort in Múltán. Prices are low, but Mansúra is more fertile and populous. The reason why Múltán is de-

* The Ashkálu-l-Bilád says "burj," or bastion, which at first sight would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word "farj" are so strong, as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iracæ Persicæ* (p. 67) that we are not entitled to consider "burj" as the correct reading.

† Ibn Haukal says, "with expanded fingers." Zakariyá Cazviní, following Istakhrí, says "closed hands." The Ashkálu-l-Bilád concurs with Istakhrí, as quoted by M. Kosegarten *De Mohammede Ibn Batuta*, p. 27. Edrisí speaks of four hands, instead of four fingers, and a very slight change in the original would authorize that reading. (*Geographic*, par M. Jaubert, Tom. I. p. 167.)

signated "the house of gold" is, that the Muhammedans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it. About half a farsang from Múltán are several edifices called Chandráwár,* the cautionment of the chief, who never enters Múltán, except on Fridays, and then on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers enjoined for that day. The Governor is of the tribe of Koreish, of the sons of Samáh, the son of Lawí, who first occupied the place. He owes no allegiance to the chief of Mansúra. He, however, always reads the Khutba in the name of the Khalifa.

Basmad is a small city, situated like Múltán and Chandráwár, on the east of the river Mihrán. This river is at the distance of a parasang from each of the places mentioned. The inhabitants use well-water for drink. Basmad has a fort.

The country of Abrúr† is as extensive as Múltán. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra.

The city of Daibal is to the west‡ of the Mihrán, towards the sea. It is a large mart, and the port not only of this but neighbouring regions. Daibal is remarkable for the richness of its grain cultivation, but it is not over-abundant in large trees or the date tree. It is famous for the manufacture of swords.§ The inhabitants generally maintain themselves by their commerce.

The country of Nírún is between Daibal and Mansúra, but rather nearer to the latter. Manjábari|| is to the west of the

* This most resembles the word in the Ashkálu-l-Bilád. Gilde-meister gives it as *Jandrár* and *Gándar*. The Nubian Geographer says, *Jandúr*, and Abú-l-fedá, *Gandáwar*.

† Ibn Haukal says Abrúz. Abú-l-fedá says, Azúr. The Nubian Geographer says Aldaur, as does the Ashkálu-l-Bilad, in a different part of this chapter.

‡ Ibn Haukal says to the east. The text of the Ashkálu-l-Bilád is plain on this point, and the Map also represents Daibal to the west.

§ M. Gildemeister translates this "locus sterilis est," which is scarcely consistent with the previous assertion about the cultivation, in which also his copy does not concur—"Agros non habet irriguos."

|| This name is read very differently by different Geographers. Vincent thinks that it is the same town as the Minnagara of Ptolemy, and of the Periplus usually ascribed to Arrian. D'Anville supposes Minnagara to be the same as Mansúra. C. Ritter says it is Tatta, so does Alex. Burnes, because Tatta is now called Sa-Minagar, and Mannert says, Binagara should be read for Minnagara. These high authorities place it on the Indus. But although goods were landed at Barbarice, the port of the Indus, and conveyed to Minnagara "by the river," there is no reason why Minnagara should have been on that river.

The Periplus merely says, "Minnagara is inland," *μεσόγειος ἢ μετρόπολις αὐτῆς τῆς Σκοθίας Μινναγάρ*. Again, the Periplus says, the "Metropolis of the whole country, is Minnagara, whence great quantities of cotton goods are carried down to Barygaza," or Baroach, which could scarcely have been the place of export, if Minnagara had been on the

Mihrán, and there any one who proceeds from Daibal to Mansúra will have to pass the river, the latter place being opposite to Manjábári.

Maswáhi, Harj and Sadúsán,* are also situated to the west of the Mihrán.

On the road between Mansúra and Múltán, and on the east of the Mihrán, but distant from it, are two places called Ibrí and Labí.

Indus. But even allowing it to have been on the Indus, there is every reason to suppose it was on the eastern bank, whereas Manjábári is plainly stated to be on the western.

Lassen derives the name of this capital of Indo-Scythia from the Sanskrit *Nagara*, a town, and *Min*, which he shows from Isidorus Characenus to be the name of a Scythian city. The Sindomana of Arrian may, therefore, owe its origin to this source. C. Ritter says *Min* is a name of the Sacas; if so, there can be little doubt that we have their representatives in the wild Mínas of Rájputána, who have been driven but little to the eastward of their former haunts.

Minnagara is, according to Ptolemy, in Long. 115. 15. Lat. 19. 20, and he places it on the Nerbadda, so that his Minnagara, as well as that of the second quotation from the Periplus, may possibly be the famous Mándúgarh, (not far from that river,) and the Mánkir which the early Arab Geographers represent as the capital of the Ballahra.

The fact appears to be that there were two Minnagaras - One on, or near, the Indus; another on the Nerbadda (Narmada). Ptolemy's assertion cannot be gainsaid, and establishes the existence of the latter on the Nerbadda. The one on, or near, the Indus, was the capital of Indo-Scythia, and the Binagara, or Agrinagara, of Ptolemy. We learn from the Tohfatu-l-Kiráam that in the twelfth century Minagár was one of the cities dependent on Múltán, and was in the possession of a chief, by caste an *Agri*, descended from Alexander. When we remember that Arrian informs us that Alexander left some of his troops, (including, no doubt, Agrians,) as a garrison for the town at the junction of the Indus and Acesines, this affords a highly curious coincidence, which cannot, however, be further dilated upon in this place.

(Compare Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. part I. p. 475, and Vol. V. p. 181. *Ptol. Geogr. Lib. VII. C. I. Tab. 10.* Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, p. 349. D'Anville, *Antiq. d' l'Inde*, p. 34. Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V. pp. 107, 130, 136. Hudson, *Geograph. Vet. Scriptores Græci Min.* Vol. I. Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 79. *Journal of the Royal As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 31. C. Lassen, *De Pentapotamia Ind.* p. 56. *Allgemeine Encyclop.* Art. *Indien*, p. 91. Arriani *De Expedit: Alex.* Lib. vi. 15.)

* The Táríkh-i Alfí, in a passage relating to Sultán Jalálu-d-Din's proceedings on the Indus, mentions that Sadúsán was subsequently called Sístán. Though the writer here commits the common error of confounding Sístán with Schwán, or Schwestán, on the Indus, yet he leaves us in no doubt what correction to apply, and we thus derive from him an interesting piece of information; for the position of Sadúsán, which is so frequently mentioned in the Arab accounts of Sind, has not hitherto been ascertained.

Máildí is also near the Míhrán, and on the western bank, near the branch which issues from the river and encircles Mansúra.

Bilha is a small city, the residence of Omar, the son of Abdul-Azzíz Habbári, of the tribe of Koreish, and the ancestor of those who reduced Mansúra.

The city of Famhal* is on the borders of Hind, towards Saimúr, and the country between those two places belongs to Hind. The country between Famhal and Mekrán, and Bodha, and beyond it as far as the borders of Múltán, are all the dependencies of Sind. The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Bodha† and Mand. They reside in the tract between Túrán, Múltán and Mansúra, to the west of the Míhrán. They breed camels, which are sought after in Khorásán and elsewhere, for the purpose of having crosses from those of Bactria.

The city where the Bodhites carry on their trade is Candábíl, and they resemble men of the desert. They live in houses made of reeds and grass. The Mands dwell on the banks of the Míhrán, from the boundary of Múltán to the sea, and in the desert between Mekrán and Famhal. They have many cattle sheds and pasturages, and form a large population.

There are Jáma Masjids at Famhal, Sindán, Saimúr and Cambáya, all which are strong and great cities, and the Muhammedan precepts are openly observed. They produce mangoes, cocoanuts, lemons, and rice in great abundance, also great quantities of honey, but there are no date trees to be found in them.

* Ibn Haukal has, *Kámuhul*. Ouseley, *Famhel*. The Nubian Geographer, *Mámehel*. Abū-l-fedā, *Kamhal*. Edrisi, *Mamehel*. They all concur in making it the border town between Hind and Sind. Edrisi implies that it is not far from the coast, and that it is five days' journey from Cambay (Tom. I. pp. 163 and 171.) The Nubian Geographer places it to the east of the Indus, before that river divides into two branches. Ibn Haukal says it is four days' journey from Cambay, and that there is a desert between the two towns. Zakariyā Qazviní does not notice it.

† The passage is difficult. Gildemeister says, "Gentiles, qui in Sindia degunt, sunt Bodhitæ, et gens quæ Mund vocatur. Bodha nomen est variarum tribuum," &c. (p. 172), where see also the note in which he adduces a passage from Ibn Haukal, showing that there was a class of Jats known by the name of Nodha, in the neighbourhood of Múltán, and therefore the passage may be translated "Nodhites and Mands." Edrisí says, the country from Múltán to Mansúra is occupied by Nedha, (Tom. I. 169,) and Qazviní and the Nubian Geographer call this tract Nodha, and not Bodha, as Ibn Haukal does, though one copy even of that author give Nodha. If this should be the correct reading it lends an interest to a passage in Dionysius, who says in his *Periegesis*,

Ἰνδὸν πᾶρ ποταμὸν νότιοι Σκυθαὶ ἐννείουσιν—v. 1088.

Νότιοι may have been meant for "the Nodhites," instead of "southern," as usually translated; or the Arabs may have converted the "southern" into a separate class with a distinctive name.

The villages of Dahúk and Kalwán are contiguous to each other, situated between Labí and Armáíl. Kalwán is a dependency of Mekrán, and Dahúk that of Mansúra. In these last mentioned places fruit is scarce, but crops grow without irrigation, and cattle are abundant.

Túrán* is a town.

Kasdár is a city with dependent towns and villages. The governor is Muín bin Ahmad, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalífa only, and the place of his residence is at the city of Kabár-Kánán. This is a cheap place, where pomegranates, grapes, and other pleasant fruits are met with in abundance ; but there are no date trees in this district.

* * * * *

(Here ends the extract from the Ashkálu-l-Bilád ; that which follows is from Ibn Haukal, as edited by M. Gildemeister.)

There is a desert between Bania, Kámuhul and Kambaya. From Kambaya to Saimúr the villages lie close to one another, and there is much land under cultivation. The moslems and infidels in this tract wear the same dresses, and let their beards grow in the same fashion. They use fine muslin garments on account of the extreme heat. The men of Múltán dress in the same way. The language of Mansúra, Múltán and those parts is Arabic and Sindian. In Mekrán they use Persian and Mekránic. All wear short tunics except the merchants, who wear shirts and cloaks, like the men of Irák and Persia.

* * * * *

From Mansúra to Daibal is six days' journey—from Mansúra to Múltán, twelve—from Mansúra to Túrán, about fifteen—from Kasdár, the chief city of Túrán, to Múltán, twenty. From Mansúra to the nearest boundary of Bodhá, fifteen. The whole length of the jurisdiction of Mekrán, from Taiz to Kasdár, is about fifteen. From Múltán to the nearest border of Túrán is about ten. He who travels from Mansúra to Bodhá must go along the banks of the Mihrán, as far as the city of Sadústán. From Kandábil to Mansúra is about eight days' journey. From Kandábil to Múltán, by the desert, ten. From Mansúra to Kámuhul, eight ;—from Kámuhul to Kambaya, four. Kambaya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Súbára, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Súbára to Sindán, which is the same distance from the sea, is about five days' journey ;—from Sindán to Símúr about five ;—from Símúr to Sarandíp, about fifteen ;—from Múltán to Basmad, two ;—from Basmad to Abrúz, three ;—from Abrúz to Ayara, four ;—from Ayara to Valara, two ;—from Valara to Mansúra, one ;—from Daibal to Kannazbúr, fourteen ;—from Daibal to Manhátara (Man-

* The printed text says "Túrán is a valley, with a city of the same name, in the centre of which is a citadel.

jábarí) two, and that is on the road to Káimazbúr ;—Kámuhul from Mansúra is two days' journey,* and Bania intervenes. The Mihrán is the chief river of those parts. Its source is in a mountain, from which also some of the feeders of the Jihúú flow. Many great rivers increase its volume, and it appears like the sea in the neighbourhood of Múltán. It then flows by Basmad, Abrúz and Mansúra, and falls into the sea, to the east of Daibal. Its water is very sweet, and there are crocodiles in it like those of Egypt. It equals the Nile in volume and strength of current. It inundates the land during the summer rains, and on its subsidence promotes the growth of crops, as in Egypt.

The river Sandarúz is three days' journey distant from Múltán. Its waters are abundant and sweet. I was told that its confluence with the Mihrán is above Basmad, but below Múltán.

Gandarúz is also a great and sweet river, on whose bank is the city of Gandarúz. It falls into the Mihrán below the Sandarúz, towards the country of Mansúra.

Mekrán contains chiefly pasturages and fields, which cannot be irrigated on account of the deficiency of water. Between Mansúra and Mekrán the waters form lakes, and the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zut. Those who are near the river dwell in houses formed of reeds, like the Berbers, and eat fish and aquatic birds. Another clan of them, who live remote from the banks, are like the Kurds, and feed on milk, cheese, and bread made of millet.

We have now reached the extreme eastern border of the dominions of Islám. The revenue of the kings and governors is small, and not more than to satisfy their actual needs. Some, no doubt, have less than they wish.

* He has just said, only a few lines before, that the distance between these two towns is eight days' journey; and that is doubtless the correct distance; otherwise, we should have only six days' journey between Mansúra and Cambay, which is obviously incorrect. Abú-l-fedá, moreover, gives the distance as eight days' journey.

II.

تاریخ بناکني

TARÍKH-I-BINÁKITÍ.

This is the same work as is called Biná-Gety by Mr. James Fraser, in his "Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts;" and Bina-i-Gety, by General Briggs, in his translation of the Preface of Ferishta—which would seem to imply that the title was considered by them to bear the meaning of "History of the foundation of the world." It certainly is so understood by native transcribers, for I have seen no copy of Ferishta, not even the lithograph edition, in which it is not so written, and it has been so translated by some continental scholars. Its correct name at full length is, "Rauza úlúu-l-albáb fi Tawárikhu-l-Akábir wal-Ansáb," "the Garden of the learned in the histories of great men and genealogies." It is chiefly an abridgment, as the author himself states, of the Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and was compiled only seven years after that work, in A. H. 717—A. D. 1317—by Abú-Sulaimán Dáúd, bin Abú-l-Fazl, bin Muhammed Fakhr* Binákítí, so called from his having been born at Binákit, or Finákit, a town in Transoxiana, afterwards called Sháhrukhía. He copies Rashídu-d-dín

* This is the name he gives in his own Preface. European Orientalists generally call him Fakhr-u-d-Dín.

closely, without, however, adopting his arrangement, and dedicates his work to Sultán Abú Saíd, the ninth Mongol king of Persia.

The author was a Poet as well as an Historian, and was appointed by Sultán Gházán, poet laureate of his Court. Till the discovery of the lost portions of the Jámiu-t-Tawárikh, Binákití's work ranked very high both in Europe and Asia, but it must now take its place as a mere abridgment, and can be considered of no value as an original composition. Several good copies of the work exist in European Libraries, as in the Rich collection, Nos. 7626, 7627 of the British Museum; in the Leyden Library; and in Hammer-Purgstall's private collection. The work is not common in India. The best copy I know is in the possession of a native gentleman at Lucnow.

The 8th Book of this work is already known to the European public, though ascribed to a different author. In the year 1677 André Müller published at Berlin a small work in Persian with a Latin translation, under the title of *Abdallæ Beidavæi Historia Sinensis*, ascribing the original to the Nizámu-t-Tawárikh of Baizáwí. It was reprinted by his son in 1689, and Brunet tells us that Stephen Weston published 50 copies of an English translation in 1820. M. Quatremère had the ingenuity to guess, for several reasons which he states in detail, that this was in reality an extract from the History of Binákití, and not from Baizáwí; and by comparing the passage he has given from Mül-

ler's printed work with Binákítí, of which a copy was not available to M. Quatremère, it proves to be verbatim the 2nd Chapter of the 8th Book of Binákítí: and as the same result has been obtained by comparing it with the copy in the British Museum, there can no longer be any doubt on this point, and the *Historia Sinensis* must henceforth be attributed to Binákítí.

CONTENTS.

Book I.—The Genealogy and History of the Prophets and Patriarchs from the time of Adam to Abraham; comprising a period of 4838 years. (The use of the word *Ausyū* shows the writer to be a Shíia Muhammedan;)—from p. 2 to 25.

Book II.—The kings of Persia, from Kaumurs to Yezdegird, together with the celebrated Prophets and Philosophers who were their contemporaries; 4322 years;—from p. 25 to 59.

Book III.—History of Muhammed; the four first Khalifs; twelve Imáms, and later Khalifs, down to Mustasim billah, the last of the Abbásides; 626 years;—from p. 60 to 186.

Book IV.—The Sultáns and kings who in the time of the Abbáside Khalifs rose to power in the kingdom of Irán, including the dynasties of Saffárians, Sámánians, Dyálíma, Ghaznevídes, Saljúkians, Khwárazmians, and the kings of the Forest, or Heretics, (Assassins;) 400 years;—from p. 186 to 208.

Book V.—The History of the Jews, their Kings and Prophets, from Moses to Mutína, (Zedekiah, See 2. Kings xxiv. 17,) who was slain by Bakhtnassar; 941 years;—from p. 208 to 230.

Book VI.—The History of the Christians and Franks; the descent of the Virgin Mary from David; the kings of the Franks, the Cæsars and Popes; 1337 years;—from p. 231 to 260.

Book VII.—The Hindús; an account of the country and kings of India from Bāsdeo to Alá-u-d-dín, and an account of Shákmúní; 1200 years;—from p. 260 to 281.

Book VIII.—History of Khitá. The government lasted, according to local historians, 42,875 years;—from p. 281 to 299.

Book IX.—History of the Moghuls; the origin of Changez Khán, and his conquest of Persia, &c. with an account of his sons and successors; 101 years;—from p. 299 to 402.

SIZE.—Small Folio, containing 402 pages, of 21 lines.

A fuller detail is given in the Vienna year-book for 1835 by Hammer-Purgstall, who states that our author composed his work in A. H. 718—not 717—though the latter date is expressly mentioned not only in the Preface, but in other parts of the work. The same author gives the year of his death as A. H. 730, and reads his name Binákati.

It will be observed that the seventh Book is devoted to India. Throughout the whole of it Binákiti follows Rashídu-d-dín implicitly, copying him even with all his errors, just as Rashídu-d-dín follows Bírúní. Nothing shows more completely the ignorance of the western Asiatics with respect to the state of India since Mahmúd's time, than to find these two authors, 300 years afterwards, mentioning that Bári is the capital of the province of Canauj, of which the kings are the most potent in India; that Thanesar is in the Dúáb, and Muttra on the east bank of the Jumna. All this is taken from Abú Rihán, as may be seen by referring to the extracts in the preceding article.

It is needless to translate any passage from this work, but it may be as well to mention, as the Calcutta copy of Rashídí, as well as that of the India House, is deficient in that respect, that the succession of the Cábul kings, who preceded the Ghaznevites, occurs in nearly the same order as in M. Reinaud's Edition of Bírúní, and with nearly the same names, but the last of the Turk dynasty, whom M. Reinaud calls Laktouzemán, is here under the more pro-

bable shape of Katorán “king of the Katores,” and in closer resemblance to the Kutaurmán mentioned in Mr. E. Thomas’ able paper which lately appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is worthy of remark that the present chief of Chitrál is called Sháh Katore, and claims descent from the Macedonians. Kalar, the first of the Bráhmaṇ dynasty, is omitted by Binákití. Anandpál is converted into Andapál, and the nearest approach to M. Reinaud’s doubtful name of Nardanjánpála (correctly perhaps Niranjánpál) is Tásdar Jaipál.*

The Táríkh-i Binákití begins thus:—

الحمد لله حمده والصلاة على خير خلقه محمد وآله اجمعين
اما بعد چون حق جل و علا توفيق رفیق این ضعیف گردانید
وهو اضعف حق الیه تعالی ابو سلیمان داؤد بن ابی الفضل
محمد البنا کتے

and concludes with these words:—

خداوندا تو عقل و داد بخشش بسوی مکرمات ارشاد بخشش
جهان از عدل او آباد گردان دل خلق جهان را شاد گردان
بخشی از فلک هر صبح و هر شام
دوام عمر و کام و نام و انعام

* Compare, *Recueil des Voyages*, Tom II. p. 369. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Tom III. p. 330. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. p. 267. *Coll. Or.* Tom I. pp. LXXXV—CI. 424. *Yahrbücher*, No. 69. *Anz. Blatt*, p. 33. *Gesch. d. schön. Red. Pers.* p. 241. Elphinstone, *Kingdom of Cabul*, App. C. p. 619. Burnes’ *Bokhara*, Vol. II. p. 209. *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. IX. p. 194. C. Ritter, *Erd. von. As.* Vol. V. p. 207. *Gemüldesaal der Lebensb.* Vol. IV. p. 35. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Or.* 857, 858. *Gesch. d. G. Horde*, pp. xxxi. 343. Jenisch, *Hist. priorum Regum Persarum*. p. 142.—*Yahrbb.* No. 73. p. 26.

III.

تاریخ گزیده

TARİKH-I-GUZĪDA.

This work was composed in A. H. 730--A. D. 1329—by Hamdulla bin Abībakr bin Hamd bin Nasr Mustaufī* Kazvīnī, and dedicated to the minister Ghaiásu-d-dīn, the son of Rashídu-d-dīn, to both of whom our author had been Secretary.

It ranks among the best General Histories of the East. Hammer-Purgstall calls it in different passages of his works the best, the most faithful, and the most brilliant of all the histories which were composed about that period. He remarks that it contains much matter not found elsewhere, and concurs in the praise bestowed upon it by Hájí Khalfa, that implicit confidence is to be placed in its assertions. It is a pity, therefore, that the work is in so abridged a form as to be more useful for its dates than for its details of facts. The authors of the Universal History frequently quote it, under the name of Tarik Cozidihi.

Eleven years after the completion of this His-

* "President of the Exchequer." It is somewhat doubtful whether this is a family designation, or one derived from actual occupation of office.

tory, the author composed his celebrated work on Geography and Natural History, entitled *Nuzhatu-l-Kulúb*, "the delight of hearts," which is in high repute with oriental scholars, and which has obtained for him from D'Herbelot the title of "*le Geographe Persan*."

The author states that he had undertaken to write in verse an universal History from the time of Muhammed, and had already written five or six thousand lines, and hoped to complete it in seventy-five thousand; but being anxious to bring out a work in prose also, in order that he might have the satisfaction of presenting it as soon as possible to his excellent patron, Ghaiás-u-dín, whose praises extend throughout two pages, he compiled the present work, under the name of *Tárikh-i-Guzída*, "Selected History," having abstracted it from twenty-four different works, of which he gives the names, and amongst them, the history of Tabarí, of Ibnu-l-Athír Jazari, the *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* of Baizáwí, the *Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh* of Jamálu-d-dín Káshí, and the *Jahán-kushái* of Juwainí. Besides these twenty-four, he quotes occasionally several other valuable works, many of which are now quite unknown.

The *Tárikh-i-Guzída* contains a Preface, six Books and an Appendix. The only Books useful for the illustration of Indian History are the third and fourth, in which are comprised the account of the early attempts of the Arabs on the Indian frontier and the History of the Ghaznevide and Ghorian monarchs.

CONTENTS.

The Preface contains an account of the creation of the world ; from p. 1 to p. 8.

Book I.—An account of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Philosophers ; in two sections and two subsections ;—from p. 8 to 67.

Book II.—The Peshdádians, Kaiánians, Ashkánians, (Arsacidae and Mulúki Tawáif) and Sássánians ;—in four sections ; from p. 68 to 109.

Book III.—Muhammed, the Khalífas and Imáms ; in an Introduction and six sections ;—from p. 109 to 311.

Book IV.—The eastern monarchies, from the beginning of Muhammedanism to A. H. 730—A. D. 1329—in twelve sections and several subsections, devoted to the following Dynasties :—

Bin-i-Lais Saffár, Sámánians, Ghaznevides, Ghorians, Búyides or Dyálíma, Saljúkians, Khwárazmians, Atábaks, (2 Sections,) Ismáílians, Karákhitáús, and Moghuls ;—from p. 311 to 477.

Book V.—The Saints and Elders of the Muhammedan faith, Philosophers and Poets ; in six sections ;—from p. 477 to 557.

Book VI.—An account of the author's native place, Cazvín, and its celebrated characters ; in eight sections ;—from p. 557 to 603.

The Appendix contains Genealogical Trees of Prophets, Princes, Philosophers and others ;—from p. 603 to 618.

SIZE—8vo. containing 618 pages of 14 lines.

A work in so abridged a form can scarcely be expected to present any passages worthy of extract, but the following are selected as comprising a few anecdotes which have escaped the notice of some more ponderous chroniclers :—

The Táríkh-i Yemíní, Makámát Abú Nasr Maskátí, and the volumes of Abú-l-Fazl Baihakí, have recounted the actions of Mahmúd of Ghazní.

He was a friend to learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, inasmuch that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 Dinárs. His features were very ugly. One day regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed. His Wazír inquired as to the cause of his sorrow, to which he replied, "It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye, but the form with which I am endowed is calculated to strike the beholder blind." The Wazír replied, "Scarcely one man in a million looks on your

face, but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one. Study, therefore, to maintain an unimpeachable character, that you may be loved by all your subjects." Yemînu-d-daulah Mahmûd was pleased with this admonition, and since that period he paid so much attention to the cultivation of his mental endowments, that he surpassed all other kings in that respect.*

In the first year of his accession to the throne a mine of gold was discovered in Sîstân in the shape of a tree, and the lower the miners dug the richer and purer it became, till one of the veins attained the circumference of three yards. It disappeared in the time of Sultân Mas'ûd, on the occurrence of an earthquake.

* * * * *

In the year 394 he set out on an expedition to Sîstân against Khalaf the son of Ahmad, because Khalaf, on returning from his pilgrimage, had appointed his son Tâhir as his successor, and himself retired from the world and devoted himself to the worship of God; but being again prompted by ambition and desirous of the crown, he put his son to death by treachery. Yemînu-d-daulah, in order to avenge this perfidy, attacked Khalaf, who took shelter in the fort of Tâk. Yemînu-d-daulah besieged the fort, Khalaf capitulated, and visited Mahmûd under promise of a pardon, and had no sooner entered his presence than he addressed him as "Sultân." Yemînu-d-daulah, being pleased with this show of humiliation, freely pardoned Khalaf, and reinstated him in the government of Sîstân, and from that period assumed the title of Sultân. Khalaf, son of Ahmad, after a while rebelled against Sultân Mahmûd, and sought the protection of Ilak Khân. Sultân Mahmûd, on hearing this, dethroned him from Sîstân, and sent him to Jûrjân, where he remained till the day of his death.

Sultân Mahmûd having conquered Bhâtea and Multân to the frontiers of Cashmîr, made peace with Ilak Khân, who sometime after broke faith with him, and advanced to battle against him; but he was defeated, and took to flight. Many beautiful children fell into the hands of the Zâwalcâus, who were delighted with their booty. Ilak Khân then sought the assistance of the Ghazz and the Turks of Chîn, the descendants of Afrâsiâb, but was

* This anecdote is given in the *Gemüldesnat d. Lebensb*: but Ferishta merely says Mahmûd was marked with the small-pox.

In the reign of Mas'ûd, that Historian ascribes a statement to the Guzida which is at variance with the MSS. I have consulted. He says that according to the Guzida, Mas'ûd reigned nine years and nine months, whereas the Guzida distinctly says that monarch reigned thirteen years. It may be as well to mention here that Briggs in his translation of Ferishta, has, by some oversight entered the History of Hamdulla Mustaufi and the *Tûrikh-i-Guzida*, as two different works.

† See Jenisch, *Histor. Reg. Pers.* p. 46.

again defeated in an action near Balkh, and took a second time to flight. He again made peace with the Sultán, and went to reside in Máwaráu-n-nahr.

Sultán Mahmúd then made war with Nawása, (the grandson of?) the ruler of Multán; conquered that country; converted the people to Islám; put to death the ruler of Multán, and entrusted the government of that country to another chief.

Sultán Mahmúd now went to fight with the Ghorians, who were infidels at that time, and Surí, their chief, was killed in this battle, and his son was taken prisoner; but dreading the Sultán's vengeance, he killed himself by sucking a ring in which there was poison concealed. The country of Ghor was annexed to that of the Sultán, and the population thereof converted to Islám. He now attacked the fort of Bhim, where was a famous temple of the Hindús, was victorious, and obtained much wealth, including about a hundred idols of gold and silver. One of the latter, which weighed above several thousand *miskals*, the Sultán appropriated to the decoration of the Mosque of Ghazni, so that the ornaments of the doors were of gold instead of iron.

The rulers of Ghurjistán were at this time called Shár; Abú Nasr Shár Ghurjis, was at enmity with Sultán Mahmúd, who sent his army against him, and having taken him prisoner, the Sultán concluded peace with him, and purchased his property. From that time he entered the service of the Sultán and continued in it to the day of his death.

The ruler of Mardain* having likewise rebelled against the Sultán, withheld the payment of revenue. The Sultán deputed Abú Saíd Táí with an army to make war with him, and he himself followed afterwards, and a battle ensuing, the chief of Mardain took refuge in a fort. The Sultán destroyed its walls by means of elephants, and thus gained possession of the fort. He there perceived some inscriptions on a stone bearing the date of the erection of the fort, which purported to be 40,000 years old. Upon this they were all convinced of the folly of the idolaters, as from the creation of Adam the age of the world did not (as it is generally understood) exceed 7,000 years, nor was it probable, according to the opinion of the learned, that a building could remain in a state of repair so long; but as their ignorance is carried to such a degree that they worship idols instead of the Supreme Being, it is not improbable that they really did entertain such a belief.

This History, though often quoted by oriental writers, is rare in India. The best copy I know

* Other authorities usually say Nárdain, but these differences will be noticed more opportunely hereafter.

is in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society No 493, but it is unfortunately defective both in the beginning and end. Yār Alī Khān, chief native Judge of Jaumpūr, has a good copy, and there is one also in the king of Lucnow's Library. In Europe the most celebrated are those of Stockholm, Paris, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Hammer-Purgstall and Sir W. Ouseley.*

The Tārīkh-i Guzīda opens thus:—

سپاس و ستایش بادشاهی را که ملک او بی‌زوال است و مملکت او
بی انتقال است اول پیش از ابتداء اخیری بعد از انتهای ظاهر مظهر
جمیع اشیا باطنی چگونگی ذاتش بیش از دانش ماقدیمی که
قدم با وجودش عدم نماید عظیمی که قلم از شرح و صفح
قاصر آید

The conclusion, as given below, is obviously incorrect, and after a comparison of two copies, the sentence is still left doubtful.

و هرجدولی که از مدوری بر حاشیه بسر اوست و آنرا که
تحقیق بکنیت پدران معلوم شده و از آن نسل که بوده خدوشی بدو
رسیده و باو کرده تصحیه این انساب از کتب معتمد علیه کرده شد
والعلم عندالله

* Compare *Wiener Jahrb.* No. lxxix. p. 10, and *Anzghl.* p. 31. Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I. p. 1. *Fundgr. d. Or.* Vol. III. p. 331. *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, pp. xvi, xxii. *Coll. Or.* Tom. I. p. liv. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. pp. 268, 320. *Gesch. d. sch. red. Pers.* p. 12. *Journ. Asiatique*, III. Ser. Tom. I. p. 581. M. Petis de la Croix, *Hist. de Genghiz Can*, p. 541. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or. Art. Tārīkh Khozideh*.

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